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## rites and ceremonies of the COPTIC CHURCH

### PART II

(Continued from E.C.Q. April—June, 1948).

**T**HOUGH the number of Liturgies, or more strictly speaking, Anaphorae, which the Coptic Church now uses is limited to three, namely, the Anaphorae of Saint Basil, Saint Gregory, and Saint Cyril, otherwise known as that of Saint Mark, there were in early times other Anaphorae which eventually fell into disuse. We have, for example, the Anaphora of Saint Matthew, the Coptic text of which has been edited with a German translation by Angelicus M. Kropp, O.P., in *Oriens Christianus*.<sup>1</sup> Fragments of other unidentified Anaphorae have been edited by H. Hyvernat<sup>2</sup> and by G. P. Sobhy Bey.<sup>3</sup>

The Liturgy of Saint Basil is that in general use in the Coptic Church throughout the year, and a synopsis of it is given in the pages of the present article. The Anaphora of Saint Gregory is reserved for the Feasts of Christmas, the Epiphany and Easter, when the Liturgy is celebrated at night. As regards the Anaphora of Saint Cyril, otherwise

<sup>1</sup> Angelicus M. Kropp, O.P. "Die koptische Anaphora des Heiligen Evangelisten Matthäus" in *Oriens Christianus*, Dritte Serie, Bd. 7, Leipzig, 1932, pp. 111-25.

<sup>2</sup> H. Hyvernat, "Canon-Fragmente der altkoptischen Liturgie" in *Römische Quartalschrift für Christl. Alterthum und Kirchengeschichte*, 1, 4, Rome, 1888, p. 330.

<sup>3</sup> G. P. Sobhy Bey, "Two Leaves in the Coptic Dialect of Middle Egypt" in *Mélanges Maspero II Orient Grec, Romain et Byzantin* (*Mém. publiés par les membres de l'Inst. franç. d'Arch. orient. du Caire*) tome LXVII, pp. 245-50, Le Caire 1934-37.

known as that of Saint Mark, it is now very rarely used. The reason given for this is that there are very few singers who know the music of the chants which accompany this Anaphora. It is, however, sometimes used in Lent. The late Patriarch Macarius used to celebrate this Liturgy, and there is in Cairo a priest who celebrates it. It should be noted that all the three aforementioned Anaphorae are derived from Greek originals of which we possess the text in MSS. E. Renaudot in his *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, Vol. I, Frankfurt, 1847, edits the Greek text of these three Anaphorae together with a Latin translation. The Anaphora of Saint Basil is given on pp. 57-85, that of Saint Gregory, on pp. 85-115, and that of Saint Cyril, on pp. 120-148. For the Anaphorae of Saint Basil and Saint Gregory we have also the Greek text of a manuscript found in the Monastery of Saint Macarius in the Wādī 'n-Natrūn in Egypt. This text together with a translation in English has been edited by H. G. Evelyn White in his *Monasteries of the Wadi 'n-Natrūn*, Vol. I, New York, 1926. The text of the Anaphora of Saint Basil is given on pp. 202-06, and that of the Anaphora of Saint Gregory, on pp. 206-12. From the fact that the name of the reigning patriarch Benjamin, i.e. Benjamin II (1327-39) is given in the Anaphora of Saint Basil, we may assume that this Greek Anaphora of Saint Basil was in use at the Monastery of Saint Macarius in the first part of the fourteenth century. However, it may have been used only at the enthronement of the patriarch at this monastery. The Greek text of the Anaphora of Saint Cyril, otherwise known as that of Saint Mark, has been edited by F. E. Brightman.<sup>1</sup>

Of these three Anaphorae, that of Saint Mark-Cyril is the most characteristically Egyptian both in its Greek and its Coptic dress. It is true, however, that even in its Greek form this Anaphora shows traces of Palestinian-Syrian influence, for example, a Prothesis at the beginning, a Little Entry, a Great Entry accompanied by the Cherubikon Hymn, the recitation of the Creed just before the beginning of the Canon (Anaphora), and an Epiclesis with marked Syrian characteristics, but if we eliminate these borrowings, we are left with what is considered to be the Egyptian type of Liturgy in which we have, for example, the Great Prayer of Supplication for all sorts and conditions of men, which

<sup>1</sup> F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Vol. I, Oxford, 96, pp. 113-43.

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## Rites and Ceremonies of the Coptic Church 3

concludes with the singing of the Sanctus—in non-Egyptina anaphorae this prayer always follows the Consecration—and the expression “Pambasileus,” i.e. Universal King. This Greek Mark-Cyril Liturgy was in use in Egypt by the Greek Orthodox Church down to the fifth century, when it appears to have fallen into disuse.<sup>2</sup>

As regards the Coptic text of these three Anaphorae, there is an English translation by (a) J. M. Rodwell, *The Liturgies of S. Basil, S. Gregory and S. Cyril from a Coptic manuscript of the thirteenth century* (Eastern Ch. Assoc. Occasional Paper 12), London, 1870, pp. 25-42 Anaphora of St. Basil, pp. 1-10 Anaphora of St. Gregory, pp. 11-24 Anaphora of St. Cyril; (b) S. C. Malan, *Original Documents of the Coptic Church*, London, 1872-75, parts 5 and 6 Anaphora of St. Gregory; (c) E. F. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1896, pp. 144-88 Anaphora of St. Cyril; (d) John, Marquess of Bute, *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day*, London, 1882, pp. 35-117 Anaphora of St. Basil. There is a French translation of the Anaphora of St. Basil by Dom P. Renaudin, “La Messe copte” in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, IV, 1899, pp. 12-43.

A description of the Liturgy of St. Basil is given by A. Fortescue in his *Lesser Eastern Churches*, London, 1932, pp. 281-85, and by Donald Attwater in his *Catholic Eastern Churches*, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1935, pp. 140-46. The note on page 143 that the *Filioque* appears in many Monophysite MSS. is, needless to say, perfectly erroneous.

In the following Synopsis of the Liturgy of Saint Basil, special care has been taken to give in full the Arabic rubrics which are of the greatest importance for the proper understanding of the performance of the Liturgy and of the manual acts of the officiants. Many of these rubrics, especially those dealing with the manual acts of the priest at the Consecration and the Communion, appear for the first time in translation. In order not to disturb unduly the description of the Liturgy, the rather lengthy rubrics dealing with the Communion of the priest and people, have been relegated to notes at the end of the Synopsis, where there is also given a description of the preparation of the eucharistic loaf and wine.

Sôtêr,

O. H. E. HADJI-BURMESTER.

Alexandria. Feast of St. Stylianos, 26th November 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. E. Brightman, *op. cit.*, p. lxvi.

THE SERVICE OF THE HALLOWING<sup>1</sup>

(Synopsis)

[THE PROTHESIS]

Rubric : The priest shall, first of all, make pure his thoughts and his acts, and what is most important, he shall be pure of all transgressions, lest he receive judgment unto himself according to the saying of Saint Paul the Apostle, i.e. I Cor. 11, 27-31, and he shall be at peace with all men. Externally, the priest shall be clean in body and clothing, and he shall wash his hands and his feet, and he shall be careful not to taste anything at all before the Liturgy. He shall then put on the vestments of the priesthood,<sup>2</sup> saying Psalm 29 and after it Psalm 92<sup>3</sup> (see Plate xxv). After this, he shall kiss the hands of his brethren, the priests, and shall ask them to assist him in supplication to the Lord, and then he shall make a prostration to the Lord before the sanctuary (haikal), and, after this, he shall make an obeisance to his brethren, the priests, and to the rest of the clergy. The order of his going up to the altar and of his descending from it, shall be according to the custom, as explained in the Service of the Evening and Morning Offering of Incense.<sup>4</sup> In coming down from the altar, the priest shall not turn his back to the altar. The lamp of the east<sup>5</sup> shall be lighted as also two candles on each side of the altar.<sup>6</sup> Then the deacon shall go up and stand before the altar, and the priest shall take off the veil (προσφάειν)<sup>7</sup> from the eucharistic vessels which are upon the altar, and he shall set them before him, and he shall loose them from their wrappings.<sup>8</sup> Then he shall clean the covering of the altar, and shall set a covering upon it if it is not already covered.

<sup>1</sup> The term "Quddās" which is derived from the Arabic root "Qadasa" meaning "to make holy, sanctify," is here rendered by the word "hallowing" which probably expresses best the real meaning of the word. In the Coptic texts the Liturgy is called 'Αναφορά.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. My article "The Vesting Prayers and Ceremonies of the Coptic Church" in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, Rome, Vol. I, pp. 305-14.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter and verses of the Old Testament are quoted according to H. B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, Cambridge, 1901-12, Vols. I-III.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.* Vol. VII, p. 393.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.* Vol. VII, p. 380.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.* Vol. VII, p. 385.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.* Vol. VII, p. 383.

<sup>8</sup> The eucharistic vessels and veils are tied up in a cloth by the deacon, after having been purified, and remain on the altar from one Liturgy to another.

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## Rites and Ceremonies of the Coptic Church 5

The priest begins inaudibly the Prayer of Preparation of the Altar, namely, "Lord, Who knoweth the hearts of all, etc.", and at the words, "and send to me strength from on high," he begins to rub the paten<sup>1</sup> with a veil, and he sets it in its place before the ark,<sup>2</sup> and then he wipes the chalice<sup>3</sup> and he wipes also the ark<sup>2</sup> externally and internally, and he sets the chalice in it. Then he wipes the spoon<sup>4</sup> and places it on the south edge of the ark,<sup>2</sup> and arranges the mats in their place. Having finished this prayer, the priest continues inaudibly the Prayer after the Preparation, namely, "Thou, Lord, hast taught us this great *mystery*<sup>5</sup> of salvation, etc."<sup>6</sup> In the meantime, the choir sings a tone (lahn = ἤχος), generally the following: "We worship the Father of light and His *Only-begotten* Son and the *Spirit* the *Paraclete*: the *Consubstantial Trinity*." The priest now washes his hands thrice, saying, at the first time, Ps. 50, 9, at the second time, Ps. 50, 10, and at the third time, Ps. 25, 6-7,<sup>7</sup> then he dries his hands slightly on a white towel. After this, he stands at the door of the sanctuary (haikal) facing west, and he holds in his hand a silk mat. Then there is presented to him three or five or seven or more<sup>8</sup> loaves (ἄρνες) from which he chooses the best.<sup>9</sup> The deacon stands beside him, having in his right hand a silk mat on which to receive the cruet of wine, and in his left hand a lighted taper. The priest before choosing, makes the sign of the cross thrice over the loaf (ἄρνες) and the wine, saying: "In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy *Spirit*, One God. ✕ Blessed be God the Father *Almighty*." The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E.C.Q. Vol. VII, p. 384 and Plate 11.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E.C.Q. Vol. VII, p. 384 and Plates 7-8.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E.C.Q. Vol. VII, p. 384 under Liturgical Vessels, and Plate 10.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. E.C.Q. Vol. VII, p. 384 under Liturgical Vessels, and Plate 13.

<sup>5</sup> All Greek words which occur in the Coptic text are printed in italics in the translation.

<sup>6</sup> This prayer is continued with interruptions until the moment when the priest makes the circuit round the altar, i.e., it is interrupted (a) when the priest washes his hands with the accompanying Psalm-versicles (b) when he makes the sign of the cross over the loaf and the wine (c) when he reaches the words "Grant, Lord, that our *sacrifice* be accepted before Thee" and here makes mention with a prayer, of the living, or of the dead, or of the sick, or of travellers, or of particular people, or of himself.

<sup>7</sup> An asterisk after a Psalm verse indicates that only part of the verse is said or sung.

<sup>8</sup> The loaves are always presented in uneven numbers.

<sup>9</sup> For the manner of preparing and baking the loaves, see note at the end of this Synopsis.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. My article "The Greek Kirugmata, Versicles and Responses and Hymns in the Coptic Liturgy" in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, Vol. II, pp. 363-94.

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## Rites and Ceremonies of the Coptic Church 7

right hand of the deacon covered with a silk mat, and he makes the sign of the cross over both thrice, saying: "In the Name of the Father, etc.",<sup>1</sup> and at the first signing, ✠ "Blessed be God, etc." The deacon: "Amen," and at the second signing, ✠ "Blessed be His *Only-begotten* Son, etc." The deacon: "Amen," and at the third signing, ✠ "Blessed be the Holy *Spirit*, etc." The deacon: "Amen." Then the priest places the loaf (ἄνθος) on the paten beneath which is a silk mat, saying inaudibly: "Glory and honour, etc."<sup>2</sup> "Now and at all times and unto the age of all ages. Amen." After this, the priest pours wine<sup>3</sup> into the chalice, emptying out completely the cruets. Then he pours water into the empty wine cruet and from it he adds to the wine in the chalice a little water (the proportion of water to wine being not less than a quarter or not more than a third), and he wipes the mouth of the cruets with a white mat, and the deacon says: "*One Holy Father, etc.*", to which the people respond: "*Glory be to the Father, etc.*"

### [THE ENARXIS]

Then the priest says: "Pray" and turns to his brethren, the priests, saying: "*Bless ye*" and they turn to him, saying: "*Bless thou*," and then he turns to the west, and the deacon says: "*Stand for prayer*." Then the priest makes the sign of the cross over the people, saying: "*Peace be to all*," and they respond: "*And with thy spirit*." Then the priest says the Prayer of Thanksgiving,<sup>4</sup> namely, "Let us give thanks unto the Beneficent and Merciful God, etc." as far as the words "the *Almighty* Lord our God." Then the deacon interposes "*Pray*" to which the people respond "*Kyrie Eleison*." Then the priest continues, and at the words "Thou hast brought us unto this hour," the deacon interposes "Pray that God have mercy upon us, etc.," and the people respond "*Kyrie Eleison*," and the priest proceeds as far as the words "Take away from us" and then he lowers his head eastwards and signs himself with the cross, and at the words "and from all Thy *people*" he turns westwards

<sup>1</sup> Cf. page 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. page 6.

<sup>3</sup> For the manner in which the Eucharistic wine is prepared, see note at the end of this Synopsis.

<sup>4</sup> For the Prayer of Thanksgiving which is also recited at the Service of the Evening and Morning Offering of Incense, cf. *E.C.Q.* Vol. VII, p. 392.

and makes the sign of the cross over the people, and then he turns eastwards again, making the sign of the cross, as he says the words "and from this *Table*," and then he continues with the prayer to its end. Then the people say: "*Saved: amen, and with thy spirit.*"<sup>1</sup> Then the priest says the Prayer of the Prothesis of the Bread and the Wine,<sup>2</sup> namely, "Master, Lord Jesus Christ, the Co-eternal<sup>3</sup> Word of the Spotless Father, *Consubstantial* with Him and the Holy Spirit. For Thou art the Living Bread which came down from heaven and didst aforetime make Thyself a stainless Lamb for the life of the world: we beseech and pray Thy goodness, Lover of man [here the priest points with his hand to the bread set before him on the paten], shew Thy face upon this bread [and here he points to the wine set before him in the chalice] and upon this cup, which we have set upon [here he points to the altar] this Thine *holy Table*, [and here he makes the sign of the cross thrice over the bread and wine together, saying at the first signing] bless them, [at the second signing] *sanctify* them, [and at the third signing] purify them and change them, [here he points with his hand to the bread in particular] *in order that* this bread, *on the one hand* (μὲν) may become indeed Thine holy Body [here he points with his hand to the chalice in particular] and the mixture, *on the other hand* (δέ) which is in this cup, Thy Precious Blood indeed, and may they become to us all for *participation* and healing and *salvation* of our souls and our bodies and our Spirits. For Thou art our God and the glory befitteth Thee, etc." At the conclusion of this prayer, the priest covers the oblation with a mat and he covers likewise the chalice with another mat, and then he covers both with the veil (προσφύρειν), and during this time, the deacon stands facing him on the other side of the altar. Then the priest places with care and heed a mat above the veil (προσφύρειν), and then he kisses the altar, and goes to the south side of it and makes a prostration eastwards. Then he rises and kisses the altar and goes to the north side of it, and the deacon who is serving makes an obeisance to him, and he places his hand on the deacon

<sup>1</sup> In its actual form this response is hard to understand; the Greek text reads: Σωθὲς αὐτὴν καὶ τῇ πνεύματι σου.

<sup>2</sup> This prayer is given in full on account of the Invocation upon the Oblation which recalls the words of the Canon of the Roman Church: benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini Jesu Christi.

<sup>3</sup> The "co-" is in Coptic and "eternal" is in Greek, and equals *συναιδιος*.

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## Rites and Ceremonies of the Coptic Church 9

and blesses him, then both of them kiss the altar. Coming down from the altar, the priest and the rest of the servers shall walk backwards, their faces being to the east, and they shall put their left foot first. Then they shall prostrate themselves before the door of the sanctuary (haikal), and one of the priests who are present shall read inaudibly the Prayer of Absolution. If the patriarch, or a metropolitan or a bishop be present, it shall be he who shall read this prayer. If there be only one priest present, he shall read it over the deacon. In actual practice this Prayer of Absolution is omitted<sup>1</sup> and in its place shall be read "May Thy servants ministering this day, etc.", and when the priest mentions in this prayer any of the various ranks of the clergy, he shall turn to such a one and make the sign of the cross over him, and likewise over the people, whenever he mentions them. At the conclusion of this prayer, all rise, and if there be any priests kneeling, they shall kiss<sup>2</sup> the priest who has read this prayer. Then the officiating priest shall make a prostration before the door of the sanctuary (haikal) towards the east, and he shall go up to the altar and kiss it.

### [THE LITURGY OF THE CATECHUMENS]

Then the deacon shall give the censer to the priest, and he shall face eastwards and offer the incense of Paul,<sup>3</sup> and he shall put incense into the censer, as at the Service of the Evening and Morning Offering of Incense,<sup>4</sup> and then he says: "Pray" and the deacon says: "*Stand for prayer,*" and the priest adds: "*Peace be to all*" and the people answer: "*And with thy spirit.*" Then the priest says inaudibly the Prayer of Incense of Paul to the Father, namely, "God, the great, the eternal, without beginning and without end, etc.", and at the words "and *sacrifices of blessing,*" the deacon says: "*Pray for our sacrifice and for those who offer it,*" and the priest continues until the words "we beseech Thee, our Master," when he says the Three Small Prayers, for the peace of the church, for the patriarch, and for the Church and congregations, as in the Service of the Evening and

<sup>1</sup> This Prayer of Absolution is said at the Evening and Morning Offering of Incense, cf. *E.C.Q.* Vol. VII, p. 396.

<sup>2</sup> Actually, the priest touches the hand of the other priest, and then kisses his own hand.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. The censuring made at the time of the reading of the prayer addressed to the Father which precedes the reading of the Pauline Epistle.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.* Vol. VII, p. 392.

Morning Offering of Incense,<sup>1</sup> and goes round the altar thrice, and coming down from the sanctuary (haikal), he offers incense before the door of the sanctuary (haikal), and then he incenses the patriarch, or metropolitan or bishop, if such be present, and afterwards, the priests and the people, saying: "A blessing of Paul the *Apostle* of Jesus Christ: may his holy blessing be with us. Amen." Then the priest returns to the sanctuary (haikal) and says inaudibly the Prayer of Confession of the People, namely, "God, Who didst receive the *confession* of the thief upon the honourable *Cross*, etc." Then he goes round the altar once and comes down from the sanctuary (haikal), and offers incense a second time before the door of the sanctuary (haikal), and then he incenses the patriarch, or metropolitan or bishop, if such be present. After the Prayer of Confession of the People there is sung: "This is the censer of *pure* gold, etc."<sup>2</sup> after which is sung: "Through the *intercessions* of the holy *Mother of God*, Mary, etc."<sup>3</sup> Then the deacon says: "Paul, the servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc.", and then he reads one verse in Coptic of the Pauline Epistle. Then there are sung certain chants in honour of the patriarch, or metropolitan or bishop, if such be present, otherwise there is sung: "For grace shall be with you and *peace* together. Amen: so be it." In the meantime, the priest goes through the church, incensing the people, and often, he may place his hand upon the head of a member of the congregation, saying: "A blessing of Paul the Apostle, etc." Then the Pauline Epistle is read in Arabic, and the reader begins: "A chapter of our teacher Paul the Apostle to . . . his blessing be upon us. Amen," and at the conclusion of the reading there is said: "The grace of God the Father be with you all. Amen." During the reading of the Pauline Epistle the assistant priest (or if there be no assistant priest, then the officiating priest himself) says inaudibly the Prayer of Paul<sup>4</sup> to the Son, namely, "Lord of *knowledge* and Provider of *wisdom*, etc." Then one of the deacons says: "The *Catholic Epistle* of our father . . . My beloved, etc.", and he reads one verse in Coptic of the Catholic Epistle. At the end of the reading, he says: "Love not the world, etc." Then the Catholic Epistle is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.* Vol. VII, p. 392.

<sup>2</sup> Other forms are provided for certain feasts, and to be used at certain ceremonies.

<sup>3</sup> There are other forms for the various feasts of the year.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. The prayer said at the time of the reading of the Pauline Epistle. This prayer is addressed to the Second Person of the Holy Trinity.

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## Rites and Ceremonies of the Coptic Church 11

read in Arabic, and the reader begins: "The *Catholicon* of the Epistle of our teacher . . . his blessing be upon us. Amen," and at the end of the reading, he says: "Love not the world, etc.", as above. Then the people sing: "Hail to thee, Mary, the beautiful dove, etc." and afterwards the chant: "Blessed art Thou *in truth*, etc." During the reading of the Catholic Epistle the assistant priest (or if there be no assistant priest, then the officiating priest himself) says inaudibly the Prayer of the Catholic Epistle, namely, "Lord, our God, Who through Thine holy *Apostles*, etc." Then the priest says, holding in his hand the censer, the Prayer of the Oblations, unless it has been said at the Service of the Morning Offering of Incense, namely, "Again let us pray to God *Almighty*, etc." and when he reaches the words "the thanksgivings of them who have *offered*," he puts a handful of incense into the censer, but without making the sign of the cross over it, saying: "unto the honour and glory of Thine holy Name," and the deacon says: "Pray for those who provide for the *sacrifices*, etc." and the people say: "Kyrie Eleison," and then the priest incenses the altar and continues with the prayer to its end. Then one of the deacons says: "The *Acts* of our fathers, the *Apostles*: may their holy blessing be with us," and then he reads one verse in Coptic of the Acts. At the end of the reading, he says: "The word of the Lord shall increase, etc." Then the Acts are read in Arabic and the reader begins: "A chapter from the Acts of our fathers, the pure Apostles who were indued with the Holy Spirit: their blessing be with us. Amen," and at the end of the reading, he says: "The word of the Lord abideth in this church and in every church. Amen." During the reading of the Acts in Arabic the priest makes a sign of the cross over the incense-box and says: "Honour and glory unto glory and honour, etc." and adds: "Now and at all times, etc." and puts one handful of incense into the censer, and standing before the door of the sanctuary (haikal) he says inaudibly the Prayer of the Acts, namely, "God, Who didst accept the burnt-offering of Abraham, etc." After this, he says again the Three Small Prayers,<sup>1</sup> and then he goes round the altar three times, and afterwards comes down and incenses before the door of the sanctuary (haikal). Then he incenses the Gospel, the patriarch, or

<sup>1</sup> These prayers were already said before, after the Prayer of the Pauline Epistle.



metropolitan or bishop, if such be present, and then the priests and the people in the inner choir, and during the incensing he says: "A blessing of our lords and fathers the *Apostles*, etc." Then he returns and stands before the door of the sanctuary (haikal) and censes thrice to the east, saying inaudibly the Prayer of the Confession of the people, namely, "Thou, God, Who didst accept the *confession* of the thief upon the honourable *Cross*, etc."<sup>1</sup> Then the priest hangs up the censer upon the hook on the candelabrum<sup>2</sup> and makes a prostration to God before the altar. On the conclusion of the reading of the Acts in Arabic, there is read the Synaxarium,<sup>3</sup> generally by the priest, and after this there is sung on certain feast days a chant together with the Paralexis of the feast. Then the choir sings the Trisagion, namely, *Holy God, Holy Strong One, Holy Immortal One, Who wast born of a Virgin, have mercy upon us. Holy God, etc., Who wast crucified for us, have mercy upon us. Holy God, etc., Who rose from the dead and ascended into the heavens, have mercy upon us. Glory be to the Father, etc. Holy Trinity, have mercy upon us.* Then the priest turns to the west and signs the people with the sign of the Cross once, saying: "Pray," and the deacon says: "*Stand for prayer*" and the priest says: "*Peace be to all,*" and the people answer: "*And with thy spirit.*" Then the priest taking the censer, says the Prayer of the Gospel, namely, "Master, Lord Jesus Christ our God, Who said to His honourable and *holy disciples*, etc."<sup>4</sup> and at the words "to perform Thy Holy Gospels through the prayers of Thy Saints," the deacon exclaims: "*Pray concerning the Holy Gospel*" to which the people respond: "*Kyrie eleison.*" At the end of this prayer the Psalm-Versicle is sung. Then the priest censes the Gospel Book, saying: "Worship the Gospel of Jesus Christ, etc."<sup>5</sup> Then he goes up to the sanctuary (haikal) and makes the sign of the Cross over the incense-box and puts incense into the censer, saying: "Glory and honour, etc." and the deacon goes up to the sanctuary (haikal) with the Gospel Book, and the priest and the deacon go round the altar once, the priest saying: "Now, our Lord,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.* Vol. VII, p. 393.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.* Vol. VII, p. 387.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.* Vol. VII, p. 395.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.* Vol. VII, p. 394.

<sup>5</sup> The prayers and ceremonies which precede the reading of the Gospel are more or less the same as those at the reading of the Gospel in the Service of the Evening and Morning Offering of Incense, cf. *E.C.Q.* Vol. VII, p. 394.

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Thou wilt let Thy servant depart in *peace*, etc.”<sup>1</sup> Then the priest comes down from the sanctuary (haikal), facing towards the east and putting his left foot first,<sup>2</sup> and the deacon holding the Gospel Book stands at the entrance door of the sanctuary (haikal), and the priest censens thrice the Gospel Book, saying: “Worship the *Gospel* of Jesus Christ, etc.” Then the priest takes the Gospel Book from the deacon and turns to the west with it, and the priests, if any be present, come forward to kiss the Gospel Book, saying inaudibly: “Worship the *Gospel*, etc.” Then the priest kisses the Gospel Book himself and gives it to the deacon, and goes up to the door of the sanctuary (haikal) and stands with his face to the east. Meanwhile, the deacon says: “*Stand with the fear of God. Let us hear the Holy Gospel.*” Then the priest says: “Blessed is He Who cometh in the Name of the Lord” and censens thrice to the west. Then he goes and places the Gospel Book on the Coptic Lectionary upon the lectern,<sup>3</sup> and the deacon says: “*Bless, Lord, the reading of the Holy Gospel according to N.*” and the priest censens thrice towards the west. Then he says together with the deacon, inaudibly: “*The beginning of the Holy Gospel according to N. The reading of the Holy Gospel,*” and the people respond: “*Glory to Thee, Lord.*” Then the priest censens thrice the Gospel Book and says inaudibly: “Worship the *Gospel*, etc.” Then he turns to the east and offers incense thrice, saying: “Our Lord and Our God, etc.” then he turns to the west to his brethren, the priests, and censens them once, saying: “Blessed are your eyes for they see, etc.” Then he faces the deacons whom he censens once, saying inaudibly: “Worship the *Gospel*, etc.” Then the priest reads the Holy Gospel in Coptic, and at the conclusion of the reading, he censens thrice the Gospel Book, saying: “To Thee is due glory, etc.” and the reader says: “Glory appertaineth to Our God unto the age of the ages, Amen.” Then the Gospel is read in Arabic, and at the beginning the reader says: “Our Lord and Our God, etc.” and the priest turns to the east and offers incense thrice, repeating: “Our Lord and Our God, etc.” Then he turns to the priests and the deacons and censens them once, saying inaudibly: “Worship the *Gospel*, etc.” When the Gospel has been read in Arabic, the reader says in Arabic: “Glory be to God for ever.”

<sup>1</sup> i.e. The Canticle of Simeon.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E.C.Q. Vol. VII, p. 393.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E.C.Q. Vol. VII, pp. 386 and 394.

While the Gospel is being read in Arabic, the assistant priest says inaudibly the following prayer, holding in his hand the censer: "O long-suffering One to Whom appertaineth abundance of mercy, etc.," and the deacon interposes the following biddings in Greek: at the words "do Thou heal them," "Pray for the sick," at "in peace and safety," "Pray for the prisoners," at "bless them," "Pray for good air and the fruits of the earth," at "according to Thy grace," "Pray for the due rising of the waters of the river," at "bless them," "Pray for the good rains and the seeds of the earth," at "and beasts," "Pray for the safety of men and beasts," at "our Orthodox fathers," "Pray for the safety of the world and of this city," at "in peace, justice and strength," "Pray for our Christ-loving kings," at "deliver them," "Pray for the captives," at "give rest to all their souls," "Pray for those who have fallen asleep," at "the recompense that is of heaven," "Pray for those who offer our sacrifice," at "from all their afflictions," "Pray for those who are afflicted," at "of Thy people," "Pray for the Catechumens." At the conclusion of this prayer, the assistant priest says the Prayer of the Veil, standing before the veil of the sanctuary (haikal), with his head bowed to the east, which is: "God, Who through Thine unspeakable love of mankind didst send Thine *Only-begotten* Son into the world, etc." There is an alternative Prayer of the Veil which is as follows: "Lord, Our God, Who hath saved us and brought us unto this life, etc." Then there is preached the Sermon, if there be one, or else a Homily is read.

#### [THE LITURGY OF THE FAITHFUL]

The priest, having made a prostration to the east before the altar, makes an obeisance to his brethren, the priests, embraces them, and asks of them assistance and absolution, saying "I have sinned, forgive me." Then he goes up to the altar, kisses it, and composes his thoughts that he may be humble of heart. Then he stands at the west side of the altar, facing east, and the ministering deacon stands opposite to him, and the choir sings: "Blessed be the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, etc. *Saved, indeed.*" Then the priest says: "Pray," and the deacon exclaims: "Stand for prayer," and the priest turning towards his brethren, the priests, inclines his head towards them, and then he turns to the west and signs the people with the sign of the

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Cross once, saying: "*Peace be to all*" to which they respond: "*And with thy spirit.*" Then the priest says the Bidding Prayer<sup>1</sup> which is for (a) the Peace of the Church. It begins: "*Again, also, let us beseech God the Almighty, etc.*" and at the words "*Thine One Only Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church*" the deacon exclaims: "*Pray for the peace of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Orthodox Church of God,*" to which the people respond: "*Kyrie eleison,*" and at the conclusion of this petition the people again say "*Kyrie eleison*"; (b) the Patriarch. It begins: "*Again, also, let us beseech God the Almighty, etc.*" and at the words "*our Patriarch, the honourable father, the Archbishop, Abba N.*" the deacon exclaims: "*Pray for our Highpriest, Pope Abba N., Pope and Patriarch and Archbishop of the great city of Alexandria, and for our Orthodox bishops,*" to which the people respond "*Kyrie eleison,*" and when the priest says the words "Receive them (the prayers) upon Thine holy reasonable altar of heaven<sup>2</sup> for a sweet odour," the deacon presents the censer to the priest who puts into it one handful of incense. At the conclusion of this petition, the people say: "*Kyrie eleison*"; (c) the Congregations. It begins: "*Again, also, let us beseech God the Almighty, etc.*" and at the words "bless them," the priest makes the sign of the Cross over the people, and the deacon exclaims: "*Pray for this holy church and for the congregations,*" to which the people respond: "*Kyrie eleison.*" Then the priest takes the censer and continues the petition, saying: "Grant that they may be unto us without trouble or hindrance, that we may make them, according to Thine holy and blessed Will," and here the priest stretches out his hand with the censer over the altar towards the four corners, in the form of a cross, first to the east, saying: "houses of prayer," then to the west, saying: "houses of purity," then to the north, saying: "houses of blessing," then to the south, saying: "grant them unto us, Lord, and unto Thy servants who shall come after us for ever." Then, if he wishes, the priest may add the petition "The service of idols, etc." Then he censens towards the east above the altar thrice, saying: "Arise, Lord God, etc." and at the words "may Thy people be blessed a thousand, thousand

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E.C.Q. Vol. VII, p. 395.

<sup>2</sup> For the expression "heavenly altar" and its position in the Epiclesis in certain Anaphorae, cf. H. W. Codrington, "The Heavenly Altar and the Epiclesis in Egypt" in *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 141-50.

fold" he turns to the west and censes thrice the priests, the deacons and the people, and at the words "through the grace, etc." he censes again thrice towards the east, and then he gives the censer to a server. Then the deacon says: "*In the wisdom of God let us attend. Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, in righteousness.*" Then the people recite the Creed.<sup>1</sup> During the recital of the Creed, the priest washes his hands thrice at the north side of the altar, saying at the first time, Ps. 50, 9, at the second time, Ps. 50, 10, and at the third time, Ps. 25, 6-7\*.<sup>2</sup> Then he turns to the west and wrings his hands before the people, and then he dries them on a special towel. When the people have finished the recital of the Creed, the priest says: "Pray," and the deacon says: "*Stand for prayer.*" Then the priest bows to the other priests, and turns to the west and signs the people with the sign of the cross once, saying: "*Peace be to all*" to which the people respond: "*And with thy spirit.*" Then the priest says the Prayer of the Aspasmos to the Father, called of St. Basil, which is: "God, great and eternal, Who didst create man unto incorruption," and when he reaches the words "and goodwill among men," the deacon exclaims: "*Pray for perfect peace and love and the holy aspasmos of the Apostles*" to which the people respond: "*Kyrie eleison.*" At the conclusion of this prayer,<sup>3</sup> the deacon exclaims: "*Greet one another with a holy kiss,*" and the priests give one another the kiss of peace, and the deacons and people do likewise.<sup>4</sup> There is an alternative Prayer of the Aspasmos which begins: "Exalted beyond all power of speech, etc." Then the choir sings, to the accompaniment of cymbals, the Aspasmos Hymn which is variable. After this, the priest and the deacon who stands opposite to him raise the veil (προσφάρειν), and the deacon holding aloft the Cross, says: "*Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison. Yea, Lord, Who art Jesus Christ, the Son of God, hear us and have mercy upon us.*" A rubric here gives the following directions to the priests:—The priest shall transfer the mat which he is holding to his

<sup>1</sup> For the Coptic form of the Creed, cf. E.C.Q. Vol. VII, p. 398.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. page 5.

<sup>3</sup> A rubric states that here the priest shall take the mat (lifāfah) which is upon the veil (προσφάρειν) which is over the chalice, and as is customary, he shall hold one edge of it between two or three fingers of his right hand and the other edge in the same manner in his left hand until the end of the Prayer of the Aspasmos.

<sup>4</sup> The manner of giving the Kiss of Peace is to touch the hand of one's neighbour and then kiss one's own hand.

left hand, and is upon the following: keep the two except at the of the Obl and what f

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. Those you all," etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the c vobiscum, etc.

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## Rites and Ceremonies of the Coptic Church 17

left hand, and he shall take in his right hand the mat which is upon the Oblation and with it he shall make the three following signs of the Cross,<sup>1</sup> and from now on, he shall keep the two mats in his hand during the whole of the Liturgy, except at the time of the signings with the sign of the Cross, of the Oblation and Chalice, and at the time of the Fraction and what follows it.

### [THE ANAPHORA]

The deacon says: "*Offer, offer, offer in order, stand with trembling, look to the east, let us attend*" to which the people respond: "*A mercy of peace, a sacrifice of praise.*" Turning to the west, the priest signs the people once with the sign of the Cross, saying: "*The Lord be with you all*" to which the people respond: "*And with thy spirit.*"<sup>2</sup> Then the priest turns to the east and signs the server on his right once with the sign of the Cross,<sup>3</sup> saying: "*On high your hearts*" to which the people respond: "*We have them (raised) unto the Lord.*" Then the priest signs himself once with the sign of the Cross, saying: "*Let us give thanks to the Lord*" to which the people respond: "*It is meet and right.*" Then the priest says: "*It is meet and right, etc.*" and when he reaches the words "Who art worshipped by all the Holy Powers," the deacon exclaims: "*Ye who are seated, arise,*" and at the words "the Thrones, the Lordships, the Powers," the deacon says: "*Look to the east,*" and at the words "they hymn Thee continually with unceasing voices, saying," the deacon exclaims: "*Let us attend.*" Then the people sing: "*Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Sabaoth, full is the heaven and the earth of Thine holy glory,*" but before this there is sung a response termed *Aspasmos*, the text of which varies according to the feasts and seasons of the year.<sup>4</sup> Then the priest places the mat (*lifâfah*) which is in his left hand upon the altar, and he takes the mat (*lifâfah*) which is in his right hand, and places it in his left hand. Then he takes the mat (*lifâfah*) which is upon the chalice, in his right hand, and makes with it three

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Those which he makes below, at the words "The Lord be with you all," etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the opening words of the Preface of the Latin Church, *Dominus vobiscum*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> If the Patriarch or a bishop be present, it is he who makes the signings with the sign of the Cross over the people and the server, and not the priest.

<sup>4</sup> The following is one of the shorter *Aspasmos*: "*The Cherubim worship Him and the Seraphim glorify Him, shouting aloud and saying the Trisagion.*"

signs of the Cross. First, upon himself, his face being turned towards the east, then upon the servers on his right hand, and lastly, towards the west, upon the people, saying each time "Holy." If the Patriarch or a bishop be present, it is he who makes the first signing of the Cross upon himself, and the second and third upon the servers and the people. If there be an assistant priest present, he shall in the meantime go round the altar once offering incense. Then the priest continues: "Holy, Holy, Holy in truth is the Lord our God, etc." and at the words "of the Holy Virgin Mary," the people say: "Amen." Then the deacon presents to the priest the censer, and he puts into it a handful of incense, and continues the prayer, saying: "took *flesh* and was made man," and at the words "He descended into Hades (Amenti) from the Cross," the people say: "Amen. I believe," and the priest continues "He rose from the dead," and at the words "He shall give unto each *according to his works*," the people shall say: "*According to Thy mercy, O Lord, and not according to our sins.*" Then the priest points with his hand to the bread and then to the wine. Then they present to him the censer, and, having placed on the altar the mats which are in his hands, he censens his hands three times, and while holding them in the smoke of the censer, he says: "He instituted for us this great *Mystery of godliness.*" Then he takes away his hands from the censer, and he continues "*for being determined to give Himself up to death for the life of the world,*" and here the people say: "*We believe.*" Here also the priest takes the bread into his left hand, and he raises the silk mat (lifâfah) which was beneath it on the paten, and he kisses it and places it on the altar.<sup>1</sup> Then he continues "He took bread into His holy, spotless, and pure and *blessed*, and life-giving Hands."<sup>2</sup> Here the people say: "We believe that this is so indeed. Amen." Then the priest places his right hand upon the bread which is in his left hand and raises his eyes upwards, saying: "He looked up to heaven, to Thee, God, Who art His Father, and Lord of all," and at the following words he shall make the sign of the Cross, and at each signing the

<sup>1</sup> A rubric here states that the deacons shall light other candles with which to illumine the Oblation and the Chalice at the time of the signings with the sign of the Cross and at the Fraction.

<sup>2</sup> The following manual acts of the priest at the words of Institution may be compared with those performed by the priest in the Latin Church.

## Rites

people shall be blessed in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen. I believe, and the priest continues "He rose from the dead," and at the words "He shall give unto each according to his works," the people shall say: "According to Thy mercy, O Lord, and not according to our sins." Then the priest points with his hand to the bread and then to the wine. Then they present to him the censer, and, having placed on the altar the mats which are in his hands, he censens his hands three times, and while holding them in the smoke of the censer, he says: "He instituted for us this great Mystery of godliness." Then he takes away his hands from the censer, and he continues "for being determined to give Himself up to death for the life of the world," and here the people say: "We believe." Here also the priest takes the bread into his left hand, and he raises the silk mat (lifâfah) which was beneath it on the paten, and he kisses it and places it on the altar.<sup>1</sup> Then he continues "He took bread into His holy, spotless, and pure and blessed, and life-giving Hands."<sup>2</sup> Here the people say: "We believe that this is so indeed. Amen." Then the priest places his right hand upon the bread which is in his left hand and raises his eyes upwards, saying: "He looked up to heaven, to Thee, God, Who art His Father, and Lord of all," and at the following words he shall make the sign of the Cross, and at each signing the

<sup>1</sup> See note a

## Rites and Ceremonies of the Coptic Church 19

people shall say: "Amen." ✠ "He gave thanks," ✠ "He blessed it," ✠ "He sanctified it," and the people say: "*We believe, and we confess and we glorify.*" Then he breaks the Oblation into two thirds and into one third, slightly and without separating one part from the other, and without touching the Despotikon<sup>1</sup> which is in the middle of it (the Oblation), but he shall take extreme care about it so that nothing is split off it or comes away from it, and that it remains whole. The Fraction shall be made with his right thumb, and not with the nail. And his nails shall be trimmed so that nothing shall adhere to them (here or at the Communion). And he shall make the Fraction from the top to the bottom, and the third shall be on his right and the two thirds on his left side, and he shall do this, saying: "He broke it, He gave it unto His own *holy Disciples* and *holy Apostles*, saying: 'Take, eat of it, all of you, for this is My Body'." Here he separates a little the top of the Oblation, downwards, gently, with the tips of his fingers, without however completely separating it, and he places it in the paten, and he cleans his hands inside the paten, so that nothing of the Oblation should adhere to either of them, and he does this while saying: "Which shall be broken for you and for many, to be given for the remission of sins. This do in remembrance of Me," to which the people respond: "This is so in truth. Amen." Then the priest places his hand upon the rim of the chalice, saying: "In like manner also the cup after the supper, and He mixed it with wine and water" and at the following words he shall make the sign of the Cross, and at each signing the people shall say: "Amen." ✠ "He gave thanks," ✠ "He blessed it," ✠ "He sanctified it," and the people say: "*And again we believe, and we confess, and we glorify.*" Then the priest touches with his hand the lip of the chalice, saying: "He tasted, He gave it also to His own *saintly Disciples* and *holy Apostles*, saying," and here the priest moves the chalice in the form of a Cross, that is, he inclines it to the west, to the east, to the north and to the south, saying: "Take, drink of it, all of you." Then he points with his hand to the chalice, saying: "For this is My Blood of the New Testament which shall be shed for you and for many to be given for the remission of sins. This do in remembrance of Me." The people say: "This also is so in truth. Amen." Then the priest points with his

<sup>1</sup>See note at the end on the eucharistic loaf.



hand to the Body, saying: "For every time that ye shall eat of this bread," and he points with his hand to the chalice and continues "and drink of this cup," and he concludes saying: "ye proclaim My death, ye *confess* My *resurrection*, ye make memorial of Me until I come." The people say: "Amen. Amen. Amen. We announce Thy death, Lord, and we confess Thine holy resurrection and ascension. We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we give thanks to Thee, Lord, and we entreat of Thee, our God." Meanwhile the priest continues: "We ourselves, therefore, make memorial, etc." and he concludes, saying: "of all, and for all, and in all." The deacon says: "Worship God in fear and trembling," and the people adore God, saying with bowed heads: "We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we serve Thee, we worship Thee."

#### [THE EPICLESIS]

Then the priest says inaudibly the Prayer of the Descent of the Holy Spirit, and he adores with outstretched hands, "And we beseech Thee, Lord, Our God, we Thy sinful and unworthy servants, and we worship Thee, by the pleasure of Thy goodness, that Thine Holy Spirit may descend upon us and upon these gifts set forth,<sup>1</sup> and may purify them, transport them and manifest them as a sanctification of Thy Saints." Here the deacon exclaims: "Let us attend. Amen," and all raise their heads, and the priest signs with three signings of the Cross the oblation which is upon the paten and says aloud: "And may make, on the one hand, this bread the Holy Body of Him," and the people adore saying: "I believe," and the priest stretches out his hands and bows his head to the Lord and continues: "Our Lord and Our God and Our Saviour Jesus Christ, to be given for the remission of sins and life eternal of those who shall partake thereof," and the people say: "Amen." The priest signs the chalice with three signings of the Cross and continues aloud: "and this cup, on the other hand, also the Precious Blood of the New Testament of Him," and the people adore again, saying: "And again I believe," and the priest stretches out his hands and bows his head to the Lord and continues: "Our Lord and Our God, etc."<sup>2</sup> Then the people say: "Amen. Kyrie

<sup>1</sup> Here the priest points to himself and then to the Oblation set before him, saying.

<sup>2</sup> A rubric states: "Now indeed the Oblation has become the Body of Christ and the Wine the Blood of Christ, and after this, the signings of both of Them shall be through Them and by Them."

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. page 1

<sup>2</sup> Cf. page 1

<sup>3</sup> Cf. page 1



## Rites and Ceremonies of the Coptic Church 21

*eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison.*" Then the priest takes a mat (lifāfah) in his right hand and another in his left hand, and they shall remain in his hands in the same manner as before the signings, and he shall say: "Make us all worthy, Our Masters, etc." Then the priest says the Seven Small Prayers:<sup>1</sup> "Remember, Lord, the *peace*, etc." and at the words "*Apostolic Church*," the deacon exclaims: "*Pray for the peace*, etc."<sup>2</sup> to which the people respond: "*Kyrie eleison.*" Then the priest points with his hand first to the Blood and then to the Body, saying: "which Thou hast purchased unto Thyself with the Precious Blood of Thy Christ, etc." and at the words "our *Patriarch Abba N.*" the deacon exclaims: "*Pray for our Highpriest*, etc."<sup>3</sup> to which the people respond: "*Kyrie eleison*," and when the priest says the words "*Orthodox priests and deacons*," the deacon exclaims: "*Pray for the begoumenoi, and the priests and the deacons and the subdeacons, and for the seven orders of the Church of God*," to which the people respond: "*Kyrie eleison*," and at the words "Remember us, Lord, in Thy mercy altogether," the people say: "*Have mercy upon us, God the Father Almighty.*" Then the priest continues, and at the words "our *Orthodox fathers*," the deacon exclaims: "*Pray for the safety of the world, and of this our city, and of all cities, and lands, and islands and monasteries*," to which the people respond "*Kyrie eleison*," and the priest concludes "And those who dwell in them in the faith of God." Then follow the Petitions for the seasons of the year. From Bâû'ûnah 12th to Bâbah 9th, the priest says: "*Graciously accord*, Lord, the waters of the river this year, do Thou bless them," and the deacon says: "Pray for the rising of the river waters this year, *that Christ our God may bless them*, that He may bring them up *according to their measure*, that He may give joy to the face of the earth, that He may nourish us, the sons of men, that He may give safety to beasts, that He may forgive us our sins," or he says: "*Pray for the due rising of the waters of the river*," to which the people respond "*Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison.*" From Bâbah 10th to Tûbah 10th, the priest says: "*Graciously accord*, Lord, the seeds, herbs and plants of the field this year, *that Christ our God may bless them*, that they may grow and increase until they develop into large *fruit*, and that He may have mercy upon His *created beings* whom He hath made with His hands,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. page 15.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. page 15.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. page 15.

that He may forgive us our sins," or he says: "*Pray for the good rains and the seeds of the earth,*" to which the people respond "*Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison.*" From Tûbah 11th to Bâû'ûnah 11th, the priest says: "*Graciously accord, Lord, the air of heaven and the fruits of the earth this year. Do Thou bless them,*" and the deacon says: "*Pray for the air of heaven and the fruits of the earth and the trees and the vineyards and every fruitful tree in all the world, that Christ our God may bless them, that He may bring them to perfection in peace without hardship, that He may forgive us our sins,*" or he says: "*Pray for the good air and the fruits of the earth*" to which the people respond: "*Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison,*" and the priest continues "bring them up according to their measure, etc." and at the words "that we may abound in every good thing" the people respond "*Kyrie eleison.*" After this, the priest points with his hand to the Oblation set before him and says: "Remember, Lord, those who have brought unto Thee these *gifts*, etc." and at the words "the recompense that is of heaven," the deacon says: "*Pray for these holy, precious gifts and for our sacrifices and for those who bring them*" to which the people respond: "*Kyrie eleison.*" Then the priest says: "*Moreover, Lord, it is a commandment of Thine Only-begotten Son, etc.*" which contains a commemoration of the principal Saints, and especially the Saints of Egypt. At the words "for the sake of Thine holy Name which is invoked upon us" the deacon says: "Let those who read recite the names of our holy fathers the *patriarchs* who have fallen asleep; grant rest, Lord, to the *souls* of all of them, and may He forgive us our sins." Then the priest says inaudibly the Tarhîm or commemoration of the dead: "Remember also, Lord, all those who have fallen asleep, etc." and at the words "in the light of Thy Saints," he puts a handful of incense into the censer and remembers the dead. Then follow special prayers which are appointed for the anniversaries of the deaths of patriarchs, metropolitans and bishops, and when the priest makes mention of the names of the deceased, he puts a handful of incense into the censer, his hand being covered by a mat (lifâfah). After this, the deacon says: "*Through the prayers and supplications of our all-holy, exceedingly glorious, immaculate and most blessed Mistress, etc.*" and at the words "*of our holy fathers,*" he commemorates Saint Mark the Evangelist, and then reads the names of the 113 patriarchs of Alexandria. Then

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the priest to raises the Abba Antioch the people eleison. La the priest taken, etc. people say generations, continues: the priest i and signs saying: "And with

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. page

## Rites and Ceremonies of the Coptic Church 23

the priest turns to the altar and raises his hands, and the server raises the Cross, and the deacon continues: "The great Abba Antony, etc." and at the words "*and all the Orthodox,*" the people say: "*Glory to Thee, Lord. Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison. Lord bless. Lord give rest to them. Amen.*" Then the priest says: "Those, Lord, whose *souls* Thou hast taken, etc." and at the words "unto Thy kingdom," the people say: "*As it was, and is, and shall be unto generations of generations, and unto all ages of the ages. Amen,*" and the priest continues: "*That as in this, so also in all things, etc.*" Then the priest inclines his head towards the priests and deacons, and signs them and the people with the sign of the Cross, saying: "*Peace be to all*" to which the people respond: "*And with thy spirit.*"

### [THE CONSIGNATION]

Then the priest says the Prayer of Preface to the Fraction: "Again also let us give thanks to God the *Almighty*, etc." and at the words "His divine and deathless *Mysteries*" the people say: "Amen." Then the priest places the two mats (lifāfah) which are in his hands on the altar, and after this, he shall not place either of them in his hands. Then he shall take the Pure Body with his right hand and place it in his left hand, and shall place the index finger of his right hand on the Body at the side of the Despotikon<sup>1</sup> at the place of separation, and shall say: "The Holy *Body*." Then he raises his index finger from the Body and directs it to the chalice and dips its tip into the Precious Blood. Then he raises his index finger a little from the Blood and makes one sign of the Cross above the Blood within the chalice, saying: "And the Precious Blood." Then the priest raises his index finger from the chalice, after having cleaned it so that nothing drips from it, and he shall take care about this. Then he shall sign the Pure Body twice with the Blood which is on his finger, above at the place which he broke first, i.e. at the side of the Despotikon, and below on the back of it, saying: "of His Christ, the *Almighty* Lord, Our God." The deacon says: "Amen. Amen. Pray," and the people respond: "Kyrie eleison." The priest says: "*Peace be to all,*" to which the people respond: "*And with thy spirit.*"

<sup>1</sup> Cf. page 19.

## [THE FRACTION]

The priest now says either the following Prayer of the Fraction to the Father, or one of the other appointed Prayers of the Fraction:<sup>1</sup> "Master, Lord Our God, the great and eternal, Who art wondrous in glory, etc." and while saying this Prayer he performs the Fraction, as follows. First, he takes the Pure Body into his hand and begins to recite the Prayer of the Fraction, and then he breaks first the Body, one third of Its right side and two thirds of Its left side, as he broke at first (but without separating), when he said: "He broke, etc."<sup>2</sup> Secondly, he takes the right third and places it upon the two thirds in the form of a cross, and he takes the pearl (particle)<sup>3</sup> from above the two thirds, from the third in which there is the Despotikon,<sup>3</sup> and he places it in the front part of the paten, to the east side, and he takes also the pearl (particle)<sup>3</sup> from beneath the two thirds in like manner, and he places it in the paten, to the west side. Then he takes the pearl (particle)<sup>3</sup> from the side of the right third, on the right side, and places it in the paten, to the right side, and he takes the remaining third already mentioned, and places it on the side of the paten, to the left, and it shall be in the form of a cross. Thirdly, he shall separate one of the two thirds from the other, from the top to the bottom, and shall take from the two of them the third in which is the Despotikon<sup>3</sup> and shall place it in the middle of the paten. Fourthly, he begins by breaking with his hand the remaining third which is at the left of the eucharistic loaf (qurbânah), and when he has finished breaking it, he takes the third which he first placed in the paten on the left, which is the principal part of the right third of the eucharistic loaf (qurbânah), and he sets in its place the left third which was in his hand. Fifthly, as regards the third which he took from the paten, he breaks it also, and when he has finished breaking it, he places it in the paten on the right. Sixthly, he takes the middle third which he placed previously in the middle of the paten, and he separates the Despotikon<sup>3</sup> from it, especially from the top side, and the aforementioned remaining third remains, one part of it attached to the other from the top to the bottom;

<sup>1</sup> The Euchologion "The Three Anaphorae" by 'Abd al-Masîh Mikhâyîl and Ghabryâl 'Abd al-Masîh, Cairo, 1932, contains eighteen Prayers of the Fraction, pages 562-615.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. page 19.

<sup>3</sup> See note on the eucharistic loaf.

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## Rites and Ceremonies of the Coptic Church 25

and he shall be careful about the Despotikon<sup>1</sup> that it does not split or break into crumbs. Then he sets it in its place in the middle of the third, and he places the third in the middle of the paten as it was before. Seventhly, he shall collect around it all the pearls (particles)<sup>1</sup> which he has broken off, and he shall place them as they were before the Fraction. And if the priest be skilful and well taught after the elders, he shall break the eucharistic loaf (qurbānah) regularly until it be broken yet remain whole, and he shall raise it with his hands broken yet whole, and this is also good. Eighthly, when this is completed the priest shall rub his hands within the paten until nothing remains upon either of them nor clings to either of them, not even a minute particle.

The following is a translation of the Prayer of the Fraction to the Father which is given in full on account of the interesting statement which it contains.<sup>2</sup> "Master, Lord Our God, the great and eternal, Who art wondrous in glory, Who keepeth His<sup>3</sup> covenant and His mercy with them who love Him with all their heart. Who hath given to us redemption of sins through His *Only-begotten* Son, Jesus Christ Our Lord, the Life of all, the *Help* of those who flee to Him, the *Hope* of those who cry unto Him. Before Whom stand thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads of holy *angels* and *archangels*, the Cherubim and the Seraphim, and all the innumerable host of the *heavenly* powers. God, Who hath<sup>4</sup> *sanctified* these *gifts* which are set forth, through the coming down upon them of Thy Holy *Spirit*, Thou hast purified them. Purify us also, Our Master, from our sins, the hidden and the manifest; and every thought which is not pleasing to Thy *goodness*, God the Lover of man, may it be far from us. Purify our *souls* and our *bodies* and our *spirits* and our hearts and our eyes and our understanding and our thoughts and our *consciences*, so that with a pure heart and an enlightened *soul* and an unashamed countenance and a steadfast faith and a perfect *love* and a firm *hope* we may have *courage* with fearless *boldness* to pray to Thee, God, the

<sup>1</sup> See note on the eucharistic loaf.

<sup>2</sup> Note the emphasis both in this prayer and in the prayer of the Epiclesis (page 20) laid on the function of the Holy Spirit in the purification of the Oblation. This purification of the Oblation does *not* occur before the words of Institution, but immediately before the act of Consecration through the Holy Spirit.

<sup>3</sup> The change from the second person to the third person is a regular feature in Coptic prayers.

Holy Father Who art in the heavens, and to say : Our Father, etc."<sup>1</sup>

The priest concludes the Prayer of the Fraction with the following words : "that we may have *courage* with fearless *boldness* to pray to Thee, God, the Holy Father Who art in the heavens, and to say : " and here the people recite the Lord's Prayer.<sup>2</sup> Then the priest says inaudibly the Prayer after the Lord's Prayer : "We pray Thee, Holy Father, etc." and at the conclusion the deacon says : "*Bow your heads to the Lord*" and the people answer : "*Before Thee, Lord.*"

#### [THE INCLINATION]

Then the priest says inaudibly the Prayer of Inclination which is addressed to the Father : "Full have been the graces of the goodness of Thine *Only-begotten* Son, etc." at the end of which the deacon says : "*Let us attend with the fear of God.*" The priest says : "*Peace be to all*" to which the people respond : "*And with thy spirit.*" Then the priest says the Prayer of Absolution which is addressed to the Father :<sup>3</sup> "Master, Lord God the *Almighty*, etc." and when he comes to the words "and absolve all Thy people," he makes mention of the living and of the dead, if he wishes, and also of himself, saying : "Remember, Lord, my wretchedness, etc." and at the conclusion of the prayer, the deacon says : "*Saved. Amen. And with thy spirit. With the fear of God let us attend,*" to which the people respond : "*Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison.*"

#### [THE ELEVATION]

Then the priest uncovers the chalice, if it has been covered, and he takes in his hands the Despotikon<sup>4</sup> and raises it up to arm's length, and with bowed head he exclaims aloud : "*The Holy Things to the holy.*" The people adore before the Lord with fear and trembling, praying for the forgiveness of their sins with tears and supplication.

<sup>1</sup> The Coptic text of this prayer is given in the Euchologion, *op. cit.* pages 311-13.

<sup>2</sup> For the Coptic version of the Lord's Prayer, cf. *E.C.Q.* Vol. VII, p. 396.

<sup>3</sup> If the patriarch or a metropolitan or a bishop be present, it is he who shall recite this prayer.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. note on the Eucharistic Loaf.

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## Rites and Ceremonies of the Coptic Church 27

### [THE CONSIGNATION]

Then the priest takes the Despotikon<sup>1</sup> with his right hand between the tips of his two fingers, and he shall sign with it in the form of the Cross the Precious Blood inside the chalice. Then he shall dip the extremity of it inside the chalice and shall raise it immersed in the Blood carefully, and shall sign with it in the form of the Cross the Pure Body which is all on the paten. Then he shall repeat the action with it over the Blood and shall sign with it in the form of the Cross over the surface of the Blood inside the chalice. Then he shall place the Despotikon<sup>1</sup> inverted in the Blood inside the chalice, his left hand being extended beneath the Despotikon,<sup>1</sup> lest a pearl fall from it or anything become detached from it, and he shall say: "*Blessed be the Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, the sanctification of the Holy Spirit.*"<sup>2</sup> Amen."<sup>3</sup> Then the people rise from their adoration and respond in a loud voice: "*Amen. One Holy Father, One Holy Son, One Holy Spirit. Amen,*" or they say: "*One is the All-holy Father, One is the All-holy Son, One is the All-holy Spirit. Amen.*" Then the priest says: "*Peace be to all*" to which the people respond: "*And with thy spirit.*"

### [THE COMMIXTURE]

Then the priest shall take the middle third of the oblation, namely that which was placed in the middle of the paten, and he shall take from it the Despotikon,<sup>4</sup> and shall break it (the remainder) into three particles, and if it is large, he shall break it in the paten and shall place in the palm of his left hand the three particles, and he shall cover them with his right hand over the paten.<sup>5</sup> Then he shall say the Holy Confession which is: "*The Holy Body and the Precious and True Blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of Our God. Amen*" to which the people respond "*Amen.*" Then the priest says: "*The holy Precious Body and True Blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of Our God. Amen,*" to which the people respond

<sup>1</sup> Cf. note on Eucharistic Loaf.

<sup>2</sup> The text has Πρεθμα Αγιον, but the sense requires the genitive case.

<sup>3</sup> The edition of the Euchologion referred to on page 24 has (p. 323) an alternative form as follows: "*Blessed be the Lord God unto the ages of the ages. Amen.*"

<sup>4</sup> Cf. page 19.

<sup>5</sup> A note in the edition of the Euchologion referred to on page 24 has (p. 324) the following direction: "*Most priests raise the paten with the whole Body instead of raising the three particles.*"



"Amen." Then the priest signs the Blood with the Despotikon<sup>1</sup> and places it in the chalice, saying: "The *Body* and the Blood of Emmanuel Our God, this is it in truth. Amen" to which the people respond: "Amen. I believe." Then the priest says: "Amen. Amen. Amen. I believe, etc." and then the deacon says: "Amen. Amen. Amen. I believe, etc." Then the deacon makes an obeisance to the east at the north side of the altar, and the priest places the pearls which are in his hand, on the paten in their place, and he gathers all the particles together,<sup>2</sup> and rubs his hands over the paten and cleans both of them thoroughly, and he shall take care that nothing adheres to either of them. Then he covers the paten with a silk mat (lifâfah), after he has placed on the paten the asterisk (see Plate XII), if there exists one, and he covers the chalice also with a mat (lifâfah) and with bowed head says: "All glory and all honour, etc." and at the conclusion the people say: "A hundred years"<sup>3</sup> or "*Glory to Thee, Lord, glory to Thee.*" The priest now kisses the altar with his mouth, or he makes a profound bow over it. Then he turns and inclines his head to his brethren, the priests, and to the deacons and to the people on the right and the left. Then the people sing Psalm 150 which is prefixed by an Allelouia which is repeated after each line of the Psalm. After this, a variable chant is sung. In the meantime, the priest turns to the Holy Table and uncovers the side of the paten which faces him, and he beseeches Christ to make him and all the communicants worthy by a true confession of their sins, to partake of the Body and Blood of Christ, saying: "Release, forgive and *pardon* us our *transgressions*, God, etc." at the end of which he says the Lord's Prayer, and after this the Prayer before the Communion: "*Author of life and King of ages, etc.*" There is an alternative Prayer before the Communion which begins: "Make us all worthy, Our Master, etc." Then the priest says the following prayer inaudibly in Arabic: "O Our Lord Jesus Christ, make us worthy to partake of Thy Pure Body and Thy Precious Blood, etc."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. page 19.

<sup>2</sup> A note in the Euchologion on p. 327 states: "If he has previously raised the paten as mentioned in the preceding note, then he sets it in its place on the altar."

<sup>3</sup> "She" in Sa'idic and Bohairic = 100, but here the "she" is most probably due to the loss of the first syllable of the Sa'idic word *mêshe*, in Bohairic *mêshi* which means "many." Thus the Sa'idic *mêshe* enrompe, Bohairic *mêshi* enrompi is the equivalent of the Greek πολλὰ ἔτη.

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## Rites and Ceremonies of the Coptic Church 29

### [THE COMMUNION]<sup>1</sup>

The priest now partakes of the Holy Body, and then communicates the deacon and the rest of the communicants.<sup>2</sup> When the priest communicates the assistant priest and the people with the Pure Body without the Blood, he says: "The *Body* of Emmanuel Our God, this is It in truth. Amen," to which the communicant answers: "Amen." When he communicates the Precious Blood, he says: "The Blood of Emmanuel Our God, this is It in truth. Amen," to which the communicant answers: "Amen." When the priest communicates the Body dipped in the Blood, he says: "The *Body* and the Blood of Emmanuel Our God, this is It in truth. Amen," to which the communicant answers: "Amen." When the communion of the people is finished, the priest bearing the paten with the Body of Christ, turns to the west and blesses the people with the sign of the Cross with the paten, saying: "*Holy Things to the holy. Blessed be the Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, the sanctification of the Holy Spirit.*"<sup>3</sup> Amen," and all the people both the great and the small adore, saying with the deacon: "Blessed is He Who cometh in the Name of the Lord." Then the deacon says: "*Stand for prayer*" and the priest says: "*Peace be to all*" to which the people respond: "*And with thy Spirit.*" Then the deacon exclaims: "*Pray for the worthy communion of the Immaculate, Heavenly and Holy Mysteries*" to which the people respond: "*Kyrie eleison.*"

### [THE THANKSGIVING]

Then the priest says this Prayer of Thanksgiving which is to the Father: "Our mouth is filled with gladness and our tongue with joy, etc." On Maundy Thursday there is said instead of the foregoing prayer, the following Prayer of Thanksgiving: "We give thanks to Thee, Lord, Lover of man, etc."

### [THE INCLINATION]

Then the deacon says: "*Bow your heads to the Lord*" to which the people respond: "*Before Thee, Lord.*" Then the priest says the Prayer of Inclination which is to the

<sup>1</sup> In order that the arrangement of the text of the Divine Liturgy may not be disturbed, the rubrics relating to the priest's communion and the communion of the people have been given separately on pages

<sup>2</sup> For the rubric relating to the Communion of the priest and the people, see Note IV at the end of this Synopsis.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. note 2 page 27.

Father: "Thy servants, Lord, and those who minister to Thee, etc." At the conclusion of this prayer the people say: "*Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison.*"

Then the priest having washed the vessels, as explained in the rubrics,<sup>1</sup> pours water on his hands and sprinkles a little of it on the Holy Table, saying: "*Angel of this sacrifice, soaring up on high with this hymn, remember us before the Lord, that He may forgive us our sins.*" Then he wipes his face with his hands, and he turns to his brethren, the priests, both those who are above and below him in rank, and he makes them partners with him by the touch of his hands, and whomsoever he has made partner with him, he wipes his face with his hand, and they do likewise.

#### [THE DISMISSAL]

Then the priest places his hand upon the heads of the people and blesses them and dismisses them and reads the following blessing over them: "My lords and fathers who appoint my sinfulness, it is they who say the blessing. *All-holy Trinity*, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, bless our Christ-loving people with the *celestial* blessing of heaven, etc." Among those whose prayers and intercessions are sought are the four bodiless living creatures, the twenty-four elders and the hundred and forty-four thousand mentioned in the Apocalypse of St. John. Then the deacon says: "Pray for the *peace* of the One Only Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, the salvation of God among the *peoples* and stability in every place. *And go forth again in peace.* The Lord be with you." Then the priest signs the people with the sign of the Cross, saying: "Christ Our God, King of *peace*, grant to us Thy *peace*, stablish us in Thy *peace*, forgive us our sins, for Thine is the power and the glory and the blessing and the might unto the age. Amen. Go in *peace*, the Lord be with you." Then the deacon says: "*The grace of Our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ be with you all. Go in peace*" to which the people respond: "Amen. So be it. A hundred years."<sup>2</sup> Then the priest turns and kisses the altar and makes a circuit round it once, saying the Psalm 46. Then he descends from the altar and takes off his priestly vestments and distributes the *eulogia*, that is, the blessed bread, and he dismisses the people in peace from the Lord.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. page 36.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. page 28 note 3.

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## NOTES

## I

## THE EUCHARISTIC LOAF



Eucharistic Loaf with the legend ΑΓΙΟΣ Ο ΘΕΟΣ, κ.τ.λ., and the twelve small squares and the remaining spandrels. The 4 central squares form the Despotikon.

The Eucharistic Loaf, Ar. Qurbânah; Ḥamal, is a round leavened bread,  $3\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{3}{4}$  inches, on which there is stamped round the edge the legend, "Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος Ἀθάνατος. Within there is also stamped a cross consisting of twelve little squares, each of which and the remaining spandrels are marked with a little cross placed diagonally. The four middle squares form the *Despotikon*, Ar. Isbâdîqûn. The remaining parts of the Eucharistic Loaf, that is to say, the particles are termed the *Pearls*, Ar. Gawâhir. The Eucharistic Loaf must be made of pure wheat flour to which nothing is added save water and leaven. It can be prepared only by a man, and the usual person is the sacristan, C. Emnout; Ar. Qayyîm, of the church. The person who prepares the Eucharistic Loaf must be clean in soul and body, and during the kneading he should recite psalms. When he has finished kneading the dough, he stamps it with a wooden stamp, Ar. Khatm al-Qurbân, and

makes five holes in the surface.<sup>1</sup> When the dough has risen properly, the sacristan bakes the loaves in an oven, Ar. Furn, in a room attached to the church. The Eucharistic Loaf is not considered fit to be offered in the Sacrifice of the Liturgy after the expiration of three hours from the time of baking.

## II

## THE EUCHARISTIC WINE

The Eucharistic Wine, Ar. Abarkâ (ἀπαρχή) is prepared from dried raisins which are usually imported from Cyprus. After the raisins have been cleaned with water, they are placed in an earthenware pot and covered with water which should rise six centimetres above them. The raisins are then left to soak for three to five days, after which they are taken out and squeezed, and the juice is then poured into vessels which, however, are not completely filled in order to allow for fermentation. The juice is then left for forty days, after which it may be used as Eucharistic Wine. The longer the juice is allowed to remain, the better is the wine.

## III

MANUAL ACTS OF THE PRIEST AT THE COMMUNION<sup>2</sup>

And after this,<sup>3</sup> (1) he (the priest) shall kiss with his mouth the Pure Body and communicate himself with It. Then he shall communicate the assistant priest, if there be one, and after him the ministering deacon and the rest of the servers who are communicants. Then he (the priest) extends his hand and uncovers the chalice by taking the mat (lifāfah) which is upon it, into his left hand, and he lifts the chalice out of the ark,<sup>4</sup> and holds it in his left hand, and communicates himself with the Precious Blood of Christ with the spoon.<sup>5</sup> And he communicates the assistant priest or he

<sup>1</sup> These holes are made on the surface of the leaven; three on one side and two on the other side. They represent the five nails used at the Crucifixion.

<sup>2</sup> These rubrics are translated from the Arabic rubrics in the Euchologion "The Three Anaphorae" by 'Abd al-Masih Mikhāyil and Ghabryāl 'Abd al-Masih, Cairo, 1932, 2nd edition, pages 332-7.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. After the Arabic Prayer "O Our Lord Jesus Christ, make us worthy, etc.", cf. page 28.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. E.C.Q. Vol. VII, p. 384.

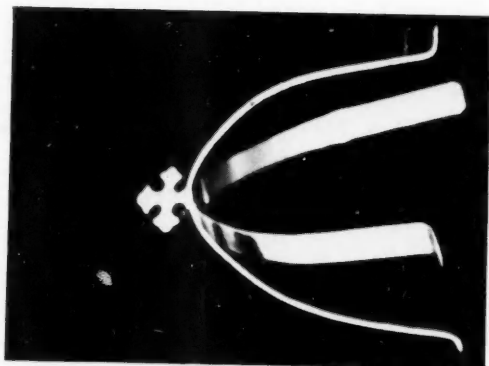
<sup>5</sup> Cf. E.C.Q. Vol. VII, p. 384.

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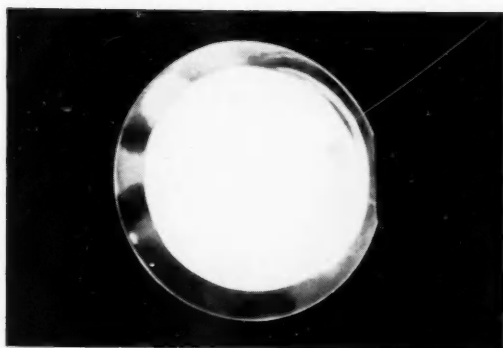
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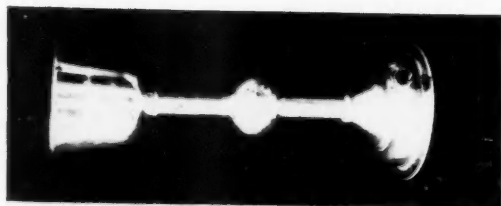
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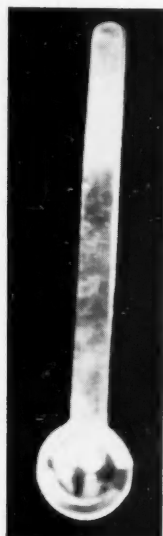
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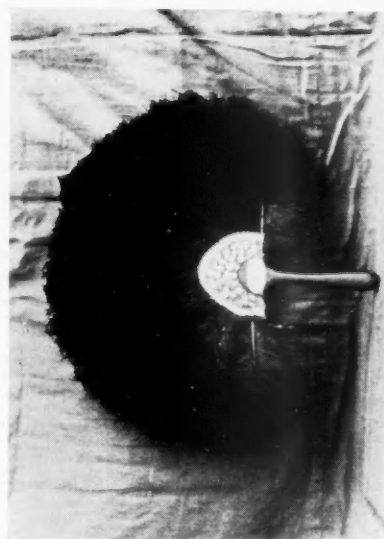
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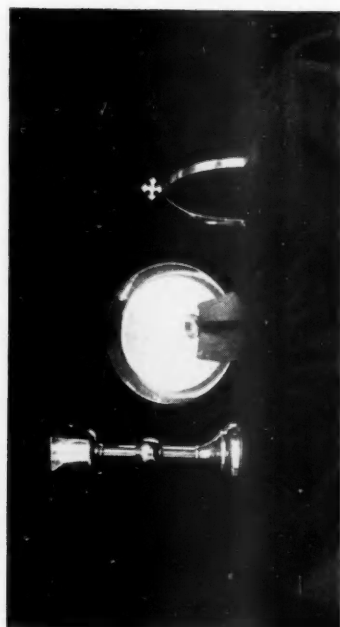
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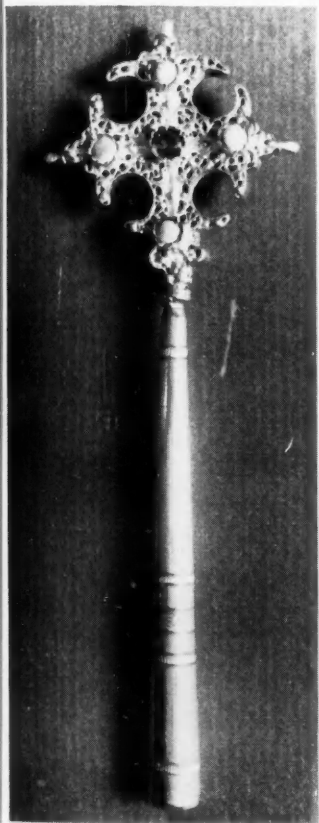
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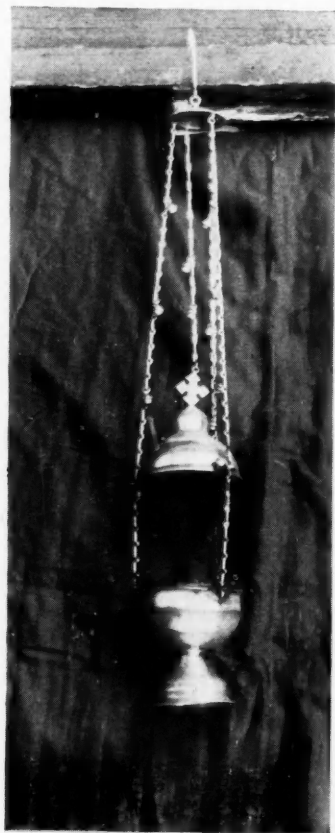
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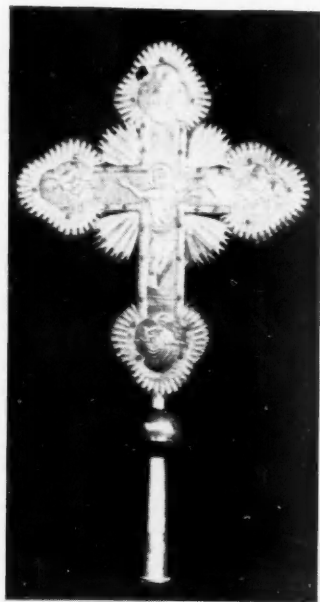
XV



XVI  
Hand cross



XVII  
Censer with bells attached to the  
chains



XVIII  
Head of a Processional Cross



XIX  
Marriage-diadem





XX

Deacon vested in sticharion,  
orarion and cap



XXI

Deacon vested in sticharion,  
orarion and cap



XXII

Clasp of a Patriarchal girdle (zónarion)



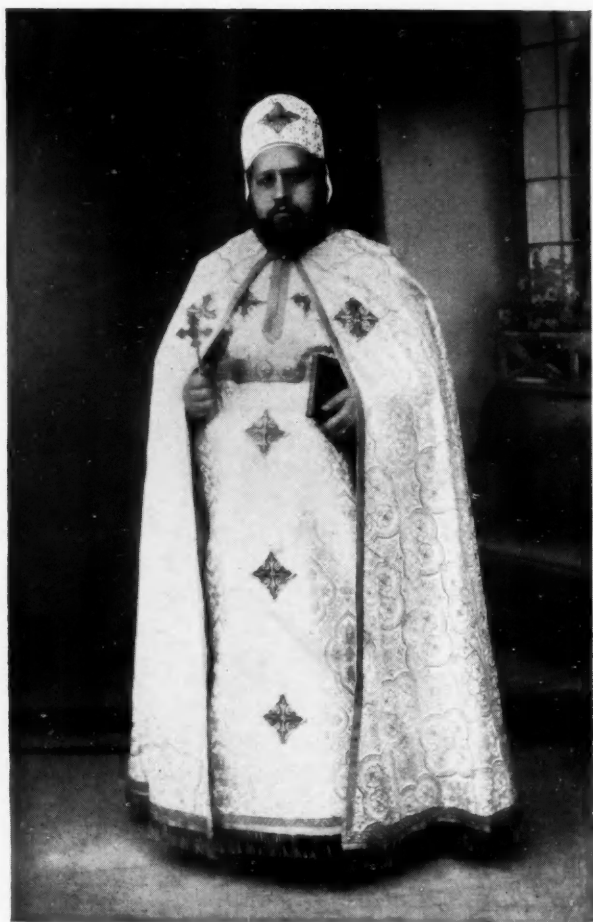
XXIII

Deacon's Cap



XXIV

Head-piece of the Tailasân



XXV

Priest vested in sticharion, epitrachelion, girdle, phelonion and amice (tailasân).

Father George Pistauros, head of the Church of Abû Sargah, Cairo.



# XXVI

Bishop. The epitrachelion, girdle with clasp and omophorion are visible. He is vested in the burnus with hood (qasalah), but is without mitre and pastoral staff, as he is officiating outside his diocese.

The Rt. Rev. Anbâ Athanasius, Lord Bishop of Banî Sûif and al-Bahnasâ

## Rites

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## Rites and Ceremonies of the Coptic Church 33

gives the chalice and the spoon to the assistant priest, and he communicates himself with It, and returns it (the chalice and spoon) to him. Then the officiating priest or the assistant priest communicates the deacon and the rest of the servers, or he gives the chalice and the spoon to the deacon, if he be old, not young in years,<sup>1</sup> and if there is not there an assistant priest, and a deacon shall be before him with a lighted candle, and he shall communicate himself and shall communicate them. [If there are many communicants in the sanctuary (haikal) and the priest wishes to finish soon, then, after he has communicated himself with the Pure Body, as has been explained, he lifts the chalice out of the ark at once, and communicates himself with the Precious Blood. And he gives the chalice and the spoon to the assistant priest, if there be one, or to the deacon if he be grown up, after he has communicated him with the Body, and he shall communicate himself with the Blood. Then the officiating priest shall go on to communicate the communicants with the Body, and the other (assistant priest or deacon) shall communicate them after him with the Blood, one by one until he has finished communicating all of them.] And it is incumbent on those of the priests or the people who communicate that they communicate worthily and not receive judgment unto themselves (I Cor. 11, 27-31), and they shall be pure in conscience, first by guarding themselves against faults by a strict confession and then by being reconciled to all men. (2) When the priest has finished communicating those in the sanctuary (haikal), he goes out and communicates the people. He places, therefore, the asterisk, if there be one, on the paten, and he covers the top of the asterisk with a silk mat (lifāfah), and he carries the paten in his hand on two silk mats (lifāfah), and the deacon (or the assistant priest) carries the chalice, and he shall take care with it, and he shall hold the handle of the spoon which is placed in the chalice, and he shall not let the spoon in the chalice out of his hand, and he shall not use his hand for anything else, for something may knock against it, or he may knock it himself with his sleeve<sup>2</sup> or with his Ballin (Pallium)<sup>3</sup> or with something else,

<sup>1</sup> Deacons are often small boys, and the chalice is given only to deacons of mature years.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.* Vol. VII, p. 389.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.* Vol. VII, p. 388, under Amice. The Ballin is another name for the Amice which is also termed Shamlah and Tailasān; cf. also F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896, p. 593.

or it (the spoon) may be top-heavy of itself, and may fall on the ground, and thereby they shall be afflicted by God on account of their disregard and their lack of attention. And the deacon shall come down with the chalice, and in front of him there shall be an adult deacon with a candle, and his coming down shall be before that of the priest. And after him the priest, who carries the paten with the Body of Christ, shall turn to the west and bless the people with the paten in the form of the Cross, saying: "*The Holy Things to the holy. Blessed be the Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, the sanctification of the Holy Spirit.*"<sup>1</sup> and all of them, from the great to the small, shall adore, saying: "Blessed is He who cometh in the Name of the Lord," and the deacon shall say also: "Blessed is He, etc." Then the priest shall come down out of the sanctuary (haikal) and begin to communicate the people with the Body, one by one, and the deacon shall communicate them with the Blood. He who receives the Communion shall make an obeisance with uncovered head, and he who gives the Communion shall say: "The Body, etc."<sup>2</sup> and the communicant shall say: "Amen," as is explained before.<sup>3</sup> And when the communicant has received the Communion, he shall not turn his back, but he shall return (to his place) backwards, little by little, reverentially and with respect for the Divine Mysteries. (3) When the Communion of the men is finished, the priest shall sign the people again with the paten in the form of the Cross, and he shall go with the paten, and the deacon, with the chalice to the gynaecium<sup>4</sup> to communicate the women. It is incumbent on all the people, when the priests pass by with the Body of Christ, while going to the gynaecium<sup>4</sup>, and at their return also, to uncover their heads,<sup>5</sup> to bow before the Lord and to thank Him and to glorify Him Who has made them worthy of this great gift which is the Body of Christ and His Blood. When the priest reaches the gynaecium,<sup>4</sup> he signs the women with the paten. Then he communicates them with the Body, and the deacon communicates them with the Blood, and they shall say, on communicating them, what has been

<sup>1</sup> Cf. page 29.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. page 29.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. page 29.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. "the house of the women."

<sup>5</sup> It should be remembered that in the Coptic Church, as also in certain other Eastern Churches, the men wear their tarbûsh on their heads, and remove it only at certain solemn moments in the Liturgy.

explained by the women because a woman about her sign made with the Body of Christ, thereby, receiving communicant with the paten churches the window or in the sanctuary (haikal) altar and ha signs the people to the Lord altar, and he comes to the case, which is explained, neither having communicated, has been explained door of the saying: "The door-way, to the west, the sign of the third signing priest now is anything but of infants who do not the priest sign moistening placing it on (the infant) in the arms

<sup>1</sup> Cf. page 29.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. The woman Milayah. This Egyptian woman

<sup>3</sup> i.e. The priest through his name

<sup>4</sup> Cf. E.C.Q.

## Rites and Ceremonies of the Coptic Church 35

explained before.<sup>1</sup> It is requisite that the Communion of the women should be done with care and strict scrutiny, because a woman is wrapped up,<sup>2</sup> and nothing is known about her state, and for this reason the scrutiny must be made with extreme caution so that the priests do not give the Body of Christ to those who are not worthy of It, and, thereby, render themselves guilty.<sup>3</sup> When he has finished communicating the women, the priest shall sign them again with the paten before going back to the altar. [In some churches the Communion of the women takes place at a window or door-way in the northern sanctuary (haikal) or in the southern sanctuary (haikal),<sup>4</sup> without the priest having to go out through the central (lit. great) door of the sanctuary (haikal) to the west.] When he returns to the altar and has gone up to it, he turns also to the west and signs the people with the paten and they bow their heads to the Lord. Then he sets the paten in its place upon the altar, and he who has the chalice goes round with it until he comes to a stop at the northern side of the altar. [In the case, where there is no one of the people to be communicated, neither of the men nor of the women, the priest, after having communicated those in the sanctuary (haikal), as has been explained before, does not come down from the door of the sanctuary (haikal), but he signs with the paten, saying: "*The Holy Things to the holy*, etc." from within the door-way, thrice; the first signing over the people to the west, the second signing over the altar to the east, and the third signing over the people to the west.] (4) The officiating priest now begins to distribute to the adult servers, if there is anything left over with him. (5) As regards the Communion of infants who have been christened and of others than they, who do not know how to eat, or who struggle, or who cry, the priest shall not communicate them otherwise than by moistening the tip of his finger with the Precious Blood and placing it on the palate, and he shall bid them give to him (the infant) a little water to drink. If the infant is carried in the arms of anyone, he shall not immediately turn the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. page 29.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. The woman is enveloped in the large black veil or covering called Milayah. This, of course, applies especially to villages, as the modern Egyptian woman wears the same fashions as her European sisters.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. The priest is answerable for the sins of his flock if they are occasioned through his negligence.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. E.C.Q. Vol. VII, p. 380.

mouth of the infant downwards, lest the water fall from his mouth. [As regards the Communion of the sick who are not able to be present in the church, it shall be made at the house by taking to him the Reserved Sacrament<sup>1</sup> in the Artophorion.<sup>2</sup> It (the Artophorion) is a silver box, the size of a cup, with a silver lid (see Plates XXVIII and XXIX). While communicating those who are in the sanctuary (haikal), the priest dips a part of the Holy Body in the Precious Blood and places It in it (the Artophorion) and binds it round with a mat (lifâfah), and at the time when he washes the vessels, the priest does not drink the water nor eat the eulogia. And after having removed his vestments, he takes the aforementioned Reserved Sacrament (dhakhîrah) and goes to the sick man and communicates him in the house, and he washes the Artophorion and gives the water to the sick man to drink; and he washes his fingers (the priest's fingers) and drinks the water, and he dries the Artophorion (Huqq adh-Dhakhîrah) with the mat (lifâfah) and binds it up with it, as it was before, and he takes it back to its place in the church.] (6) When the Communion is finished, the priest rubs the paten and absolves himself from it<sup>3</sup> by inspecting it and by the inspection of those at his side from among the priests and the deacons who hold a light for him, and he rubs also the chalice and cleans it. (7) After all this, he washes the vessels and drinks the water, he and those who have communicated with him in the sanctuary (haikal). First of all, he washes the spoon inside the chalice, and with this water he washes the interior of the chalice, and he gives it (the water) to someone to drink or he drinks it himself. Secondly, he repeats the washing of the spoon and the chalice, as explained. Thirdly, after he has placed the spoon in the paten, he washes the outside of the chalice over the paten, that is, he washes every part of the chalice which he has held with his hand at the time of the Communion. Fourthly, he washes the spoon and its handle and the asterisk<sup>4</sup> inside the paten, and he gives the water to someone to drink. Fifthly, he washes his hands in the paten and he washes the paten with this water and he drinks it. Sixthly, he rubs the outside of the paten with his

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic term dhakhîrah means "that which is reserved for use later" hence "treasure," "store," "munition."

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "the box of that which is reserved."

<sup>3</sup> i.e. He absolves himself from the guilt of leaving consecrated particles on the paten by a close inspection in which those around him join.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.* Vol. VII, p. 384.

hands and more, and he an assistant the Communion he shall wash When this is one of the deacons them up with shall not touch become benediction his hands, and Prayer of T

## COMMUNION

It is required great care, themselves communicate until his mouth cate himself the particle and he shall and he shall and the consecrated The communion extended beyond and the precious Blood, the deacon who draws is beneath the spoon, or anything little water Communion hand of the priest.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *E.C.Q.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. page



## Rites and Ceremonies of the Coptic Church 37

hands and washes his hands and the paten once or twice more, and he drinks it (the water). Seventhly, if it be that an assistant priest or a deacon has held the chalice and given the Communion or communicated from it with his hand, he shall wash his hand also in the paten and drink the water. When this has been finished, the priest gives the vessels to one of the deacons who rubs them with a clean veil and binds them up with the mats and the veil (προσφέρειν),<sup>1</sup> and he shall not tie the bands tightly round the vessels, lest they become bent. And while the priest washes the vessels and his hands, as has been mentioned, he shall say the following Prayer of Thanksgiving after the Communion.<sup>2</sup>

### IV

#### COMMUNION OF THE CELEBRANT AND THE COMMUNICANTS

It is requisite that the Communion shall be made with great care, lest anything fall down and thereby they render themselves guilty. As regards the Body, when the priest communicates himself with It, he shall bend his head down until his mouth is over the paten, and then he shall communicate himself. If he communicates another, he shall hold the particle in his right hand between two or three fingers, and he shall extend his left hand beneath the said particle, and he shall advance it towards the mouth of the communicant, and the communicant shall be on the left side of the priest. The communicant shall have in his right hand a mat (lifâfah) extended beneath his mouth, and he shall open his mouth and the priest shall communicate him. As regards the Blood, the priest shall advance the chalice towards everyone who draws near to communicate from It, until it (the chalice) is beneath his mouth. Then he shall communicate him with the spoon, and he shall not wipe his mouth with a mat (lifâfah) or anything else. Finally, the communicant shall drink a little water to cover his eucharist (qurbân). During the Communion of the Body and the Blood there shall be in the hand of the deacon a candle with which he gives light to the priest.

*(to be continued)*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E.C.Q. Vol. VII, p. 383.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. page 29.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. preceding bibliography in *E.C.Q.* Vol. VII, pp. 399-403.

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## THE PROBLEM OF RUSSIA

**I**N 1946 an issue of the *E.C.Q.* (April-June) was devoted to this subject. Here we tried to give our readers a true picture of the Russian Orthodox Church both in the U.S.S.R. and in France, its relations with the Soviet State and with the Catholic Church. We confined ourselves as far as possible to documentation and facts based on as wide a field of information as possible. We tried to view the whole position in a Christian way.

We are approaching again the same problem in the articles and reviews that follow here but from a somewhat different angle. In the former issue we aimed at getting the facts in right proportion, of getting the issue clear and we have made for ourselves a basis from which we can judge the present, and even maybe, the future religious situation. Here we are attempting to penetrate Russian religious thought, that of the nineteenth century and that of today. In this, however, we are limited to those thinkers only whose writings have been translated into English and of these we can only give a selection and that to suit our purpose.

We would consider briefly in these pages Russian Orthodox thought confronting the West and on the whole as viewed by Catholic thinkers. As one would expect Nicholas Berdyaev and Vladimir Soloviev predominate.

As well as the two following articles the book reviews are pressed into this service and should so be read. There is also one article dealing with the Catholic Ukrainians in Canada.

THE EDITOR.

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## NICHOLAS ALEXANDROVICH BERDYAEV AND HIS WORK

(1874-1948)

IT is manifestly impossible within the narrow limits of a short article to do justice to every aspect of a life's work that extended over more than half a century. For that there is need of the wider scope of a detailed biography. Before venturing on an all-embracing judgment, the personality and character of this famous modern Russian philosopher must be investigated, his homeland and his origins, his formation and all the various influences to which, one after another, he was subjected; his activity at the different periods of his long life and in so many places—Russia, Germany and France, in the capitals Kiev, St. Petersburg and Moscow, Berlin and Paris—and especially his manifold and ever increasingly influential activity as a writer. There must first be amassed all the traces and impressions that his long and many-sided exertions have left behind. For that, however, both time and distance are needful.

Only to few men who are conscious to themselves of a prophetic mission is it given to follow for half a century all the burning questions of the day and to enter into their discussion. For five long decades, from the end of the last century till his sudden death on 23rd March in the Passion Week of 1948, Berdyaev was able to make his voice heard. To give the framework within which his activity was set we indicate briefly the most important dates and the turning-points of his life. He was born of a noble family in Kiev. After successfully completing his preliminary studies he went to the University of his native town. He was early attracted to social problems and was involved in 1898 in legal proceedings taken against the social democratic movement, in consequence of which he was banished for three years to the north of Russia. At the beginning of the new century he continued his philosophical studies in Germany. The turn of the century brought to maturity his reversion from Marxism through Idealism to religion and Christianity, and along this same path his occasional collaborator and life-long friend Sergius Bulgakov († 1944) accompanied him. In his early writings he was searching for a synthesis between Marxism and Idealism. Up to his expulsion from Russia, in co-operation with Wenceslas Ivanof, Florensky, Bulgakov

and others, he was the leader of that intellectual movement, with its centre and main focal points in St. Petersburg and Moscow, which he later liked to call the "Russian Renaissance." But this movement was suddenly—and for Russia finally—interrupted by the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution. During the years of the Revolution, overwhelmed by the floods of Materialism and Atheism, Berdyaev sought to maintain for the ideals of the spirit and of religion place, voice and influence in public life. In 1919 he founded in Moscow a "Free Academy for Intellectual Culture" and up till 1920 he delivered lectures on philosophy in the University of that city. He had, however, soon to abandon that field. In 1922 he was banished from Russia as an enemy of Communism. He then turned his steps to Berlin which in 1925 after his organizational and propaganda activity he exchanged for Paris. By a peculiar chain of events the Communist Revolution which, as things turned out, was to be so lasting and fateful for his country was destined to be for him, too, personally the occasion of ever-growing consequences. So, as a Russian in exile, as representative of that spirituality and Christian piety which, no longer able to exist in Russia, created for itself new centres and foci of influence in emigration, as a prophet of the changes introduced by the Communist Revolution into the history of the present day (Cf. *The New Middle Ages*, Berlin 1924), he now established his personal reputation—indeed, his world-wide renown.

Berdyaev published his first books in St. Petersburg—mostly collections of essays that show his gradual development of thought—in the first decade of the twentieth century: during the second decade in Moscow: later, in the first half of the 'twenties he completed in Berlin manuscripts started in Russia. After 1925 most of his writing was done in Paris where he was finally to find a new home and a new milieu. It was here that he founded, in collaboration with a select band of other Russian emigrants, his periodical *Put'* (*The Way*), as the "Organ of Russian Religious Thought" (1925-40). Here, too, he founded an Academy of Philosophy and henceforward co-operated in the Ecumenical Movement and aimed at a renewal of the Christian world and social rights. It is no easy task to determine the great extent of the influence that Berdyaev's writings and ideas had. At any rate, all his fundamental and important works, one after the other—and indeed usually very quickly—once they had appeared in Russian, were translated into the chief languages

of the world. In English, to a degree in French, in other languages, i.e. with the first editions, the books even becoming works among the major liberal Christian writers and to prepare

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of the world; first into German, then into French and English, then in some measure though to an ever increasing degree into Spanish, Italian and other tongues. Our philosopher composed all his works in his native Russian in which language alone, he could (in so far as difficult subjects are amenable to exposition) give complete expression to himself, i.e. with the necessary accuracy and turn of style. Nevertheless, towards the end of his life he frequently omitted the first edition in Russian, chiefly because the sale of Russian books even in a centre of Russian emigration like Paris was becoming more and more restricted and, too, because his works were being less read by his fellow-countrymen, among whom indeed he counted but few true friends, while the majority of his ardent admirers was to be found among liberal Christians, or such Catholics and Protestants as were interested in the Œcumenical Movement. After Berdyaev's death an association of his devotees was formed in Paris which aimed at an edition of all his works (his posthumous writings alone are expected to fill four volumes) and began to prepare a collection of articles to propagate his thought.

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Berdyaev's personality was the subject of controversy both during his lifetime and after his death, especially within the circle of the Russian emigrants. His gifts as a philosopher, and indeed even his Christianity, have been called in question. Some saw in him a modest and unpretentious man (such was the impression left on the writer of these notes after several meetings with him at the end of 1938 and the beginning of 1939 and from correspondence). Others divined in his behaviour and in his writings arrogance and the pride of Lucifer. His philosophy was especially the bone of contention. Was he merely an original thinker; or was he also a great thinker, one of the few great developers of philosophy of our day; or, granted that he was possessed of great philosophical gifts, did he nevertheless lack an all-round methodical formation and training? Had he, in fact, developed philosophical thought in original and individual ways and contributed to a real progress of knowledge and of human enquiry? Or, on the other hand, had he only cleverly—as was asserted—appropriated the unknown and forgotten thoughts of others, synthesized them, clothed them in an attractive form alluring to the modern reader, covering all the large and deep questions of the day, so that he merits rather the name

of a writer on philosophy and its popularizer than that of an independent thinker and philosopher? In our view it is premature to wish to give a decisive answer to these questions now, but we hope that the present essay will contribute to their clarification. Posterity will give the answer and it will soon be decided whether Berdyaev flashed across the heavens like a meteor and then disappeared for good, or whether his was the longer and brighter, trajectory of a comet, or whether as a constellation in the firmament of philosophers—even if not of an assured first, yet perhaps of the second, third or fourth magnitude—he will take up an abiding place.

One of the reasons why opinion is divided about Berdyaev is, in our view, his great all-round versatility and ability. In his writings—books and essays—he treats intimately and deeply, even if not always with the same competency, the great problems underlying the philosophies of civilization and history; he proved himself an existentialist and anthropologist; seeks as Christian gnostic or theosophist (in common with Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, as in later times with the Protestant mystic Jacob Böhme, the Idealist philosophers, especially Schelling and von Baader) a synthesis between philosophy and Revelation; he delights in the title "Christian humanist"; he is a sociologist and an adherent of the Œcumenical Movement. And yet he has all these different facets so combined in himself that there results the synthesis so typical and characteristic of Berdyaev—not to say of his system—that shows itself in his clear and lucid style and everywhere in his general way of expressing himself. One can compare Berdyaev's thought to a flood whose waters are drawn from a multitude of streams and rivulets which converge from all sides into it (there come to mind Kant and Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy, Khomyakov and Kierkegaard, Soloviev and Fedorov and Leontiev, and many, many more), which nevertheless both under the surface and upon it sweeps along with itself obstacles of all kinds—trees and boughs, planks and wreckage of sunken ships—even those elements that were never assimilated into Berdyaev's systematic background. The observant reader would soon decide that the multiplicity of the material was unified through a single view, a basic intuition, which can be recognized in all that Berdyaev conceived of, thought out and wrote. His peculiarity was not that, with connections logically inter-dependent and strictly scholarly method he discovered, proved and developed

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his ideas. He preferred to propound the same subject psychologically and in association with other ideas, in new, ingenious forms and variations, and constantly to make fresh efforts to impart to the reader his fundamental intuitive position. He shrank from being countered as a "learned" philosopher, or a professional philosopher. He chose a way of writing that had little of abstract thought and terminology and was intelligible to the many. In this respect Berdyayev was essentially a popularizer. What, however, certainly cannot justly be said is that he lacked philosophical acumen and depth.

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Berdyayev's philosophical position is akin to that of Existentialism. He has indeed been portrayed as the leading representative of a Russian Existentialism mainly inspired by Dostoevsky.

His fundamental intuition lies in human existence as a reality, full of contradictions, paradoxical, not static but dynamic, eschatological, i.e., dependent on and from the last things. The tragic cleft, the internal division in human hearts finds its explanation, in Berdyayev's thought, in a primal original sin. So he expressed this tragic experience in the categories of his philosophy through the opposition between necessity and freedom, nature and spirit, object and subject, i.e. on the one hand, objectified, abstract, phenomenal, unreal, the world enslaving the spirit; and on the other hand, the world of identity, the concrete world, a world of the spirit and of freedom. In this world of the spirit or of mystical intuition there disappears, according to Berdyayev, the opposition between subject and object and there is a real, immediate contact with God, with men as personalities and with the cosmos.

In the middle is man, his personality, his tragic destiny, his servitude and his freedom, especially in this new age of intellectual progress, of technical and social revolutions and mass-movements. Berdyayev sees a solution only in lifting man above himself to a higher world of the spirit. Already a work of his immaturity *The Meaning of Creation* (Moscow, 1916) carried the significant sub-title: "Essay on the Justification of Mankind." Time and time again he returns to these words: "Not a theodicy, but an anthropodicy—not a justification of God, but a justification of man." So how

can the existence of man, his struggle and his destiny be justified in any other way except through the creative activity of man, through his free productivity which gives a loving answer to the loving call of the Creator? Berdyaev indeed asserts that God needs this productivity of man and longs for this loving answer. Along this same line of thought Berdyaev's philosophy of history: *The Meaning of History* (Berlin, 1923) is called: *Essay on the Philosophy of Human Destiny*. History begins in the depths of the Trinity. The eternal enters into the temporal and the temporal into the eternal. The meaning and centre of human history is Christ: all the events that occurred before His appearance on earth pointed to Him; the history of Christianity in the world started at the moment of His first coming and will continue till His second coming. The purpose of all the events of earth can only be that God may be born in man and man in God. Indeed Berdyaev goes so far in his search for a mutual interpenetration of God and man that he misplaces the tragedy of man into the essence of the immutable God. In his philosophy of history Berdyaev interprets the idea of Soloviev about the divine-humanity in a peculiar way.

In other writings, too, he expressed what was his constant intention and desire to do for mankind. *On the Vocation of Mankind* (*Essay on a Paradoxical Ethic*, Paris, 1931) will deal with his ethical thought. In 1934 he wrote a brochure on *The Destiny of Man in the Present Time* (*For an Understanding of our Era*, Paris 1934). In his last two books also he grapples with the deepest meaning of human creation and human existence: *Essai de métaphysique eschatologique, Acte créateur et objectivation* (Paris 1946) and *Dialectique existentielle du divin et de l'humain* (Paris 1947).

Berdyaev, then, gave ever more and more attention to problems of anthropology. He was not, however, concerned with a purely natural anthropology, but with a Christian one—if God became man and man is to be deified, then not only is man godlike in his innermost being but also God is manlike; then man, as the mirror of the Universe, of the whole cosmos, is not only a microcosm—a world in miniature, but also a micro-god—a god in miniature. Indeed, in the endeavour to buttress up his religious and Christian anthropology Berdyaev felt himself to be the representative of a Christian humanism. With a master's hand he exposed the crisis in which humanism, separating itself from God and Christianity, has already for centuries been placed, how

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the peak of this crisis is manifested particularly in the works of Dostoevsky and Nietzsche, because the opposition between God-man and man-god, between Christ and man who puts himself in God's place, between Christ and the superman, reveals itself as irreconcilable; and how therefore a secularized humanism brings on itself its own destruction: so without God it is all up with the dignity of man.

In the field of anthropology and Christian humanism Berdyayev's merits are undeniable. Here, however, are seen also the limits and the danger of his philosophical thought. In particular, in the search to establish the relation of man to God, to distinguish the natural from the supernatural, intuition from Revelation, to found human freedom in God, he falls into error. Already in his *Philosophy of Freedom* (Moscow, 1911) this was apparent, but it is especially so in his two-volume, fundamental *Philosophy of the Free Spirit, Problems and Defence of Christianity* (Paris, 1927) which elaborates afresh precisely the problem of a Christian gnosis, and then in his *Ethic* (Paris, 1931) and in the later writings. His attempt to establish the endeavour, creative faculty and freedom of man as not dependent on God leads him to distinguish in God a primary "divine nothing," the godhead (the *Ungrund*—of Jacob Böhme) from the secondary creator-god, and to found human freedom, independent of the creator-god, in "divine nothing," from which indeed the Trinity and the creator-god were first born. He fails to see that a creative activity of man independent of God's will and essence will be robbed of its innermost worth.

So it comes about that Berdyayev indeed speaks often of grace and of an order surpassing nature, but at bottom he dissolves the distinction between the natural and the supernatural. He does not move in the realm of the properly supernatural order but remains enclosed in a naturalistic intuitive mysticism. God-in-man, for example, is for him primarily a philosophical idea and not a concept gained from a supernatural Revelation. This is clearly shown in his opposing spirit to nature, and from the fact that, in his philosophy of spirit, the metaphysical, the supernatural and the mystical orders all coincide. Because he criticizes the revealed truths of Christianity from this subjective standpoint, an objective, external authority of God and of the Church appears to him as objectified. From such an authority he is naturally averse.

Also to the great (in the widest sense) anthropological truths of Christianity—the Fall, Redemption, Salvation, eternal Damnation of man—he applies the measuring-rod of his philosophy, which stresses too heavily the human subject and so slips into subjectivism. No matter how often he speaks of evil and its power in the world, he invariably fails to appreciate the mystery of evil, the essence of sin lying in a disobedience and an offence against God, the necessity of a divine-human expiation. With the majority of the newer Russian theologians he rejects the Catholic concept of the Redemption as “juridical.” For him the meaning of Christ’s death on the Cross lies exclusively in love. Yet, that the Redeemer manifested His love for man precisely as a Victim of expiation for their sins to save them from eternal death—of this he shows no understanding. He frequently proclaims the final salvation of all men. With an ever increasing insistence he stresses, particularly in his last books, that man must free himself from the nightmare of an everlasting Hell, that an eternal Hell is nothing but the product of the human instinct for revenge or sadistic joy in the pains of others and is founded on an objectifying of spiritual experiences. He apparently fails to perceive that by denying the truth of the belief in an everlasting damnation for the impenitent he depreciates human life, takes from it the character of a free, final choice for or against God. What sort of meaning is the creative power of man—ever more and more lauded by Berdyaev—to have, if in the end and independently of it all men will, in any case, be saved? In opposition to ecclesiastical tradition, relying on his own authority, he seeks to delude man about the ultimate seriousness and meaning of earthly life and in consequence has taken upon himself a grave responsibility.

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Berdyaev’s position in respect of the traditional faith of Christianity is conditioned by his position regarding the Church. He was early converted from Marxism, not to an ecclesiastical orthodoxy, but to an orthodox Christianity of an individual type. All his life long, the Christ of Dostoevsky’s parable about the Grand Inquisitor hovered before his eyes as the picture of his ideal. Certainly Berdyaev occasionally—though whether in his last years, we cannot say—had received the sacraments in the Orthodox Church

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and, as we were informed from a thoroughly reliable source, he received them as an act of submission to concrete, ecclesiastical authority. Also, from time to time during his residence in Berlin he accompanied to Sunday Mass his life-long companion Lydia Berdyayev, who was a Catholic. In spite of that, he was averse to showing his piety exteriorly and to letting himself be seen regularly in church. He shared with Khomyakov, not the practical exercise of piety, but the theoretical comprehension of the Church and like him kept aloof from every clearly external authority in matters of faith. His personal Christianity remained suspended, as it were, above the Christian confessions. In many respects he felt nearer to Protestantism than to Catholicism in which he acknowledged less content of truth than in Eastern Orthodoxy. He was very conscious of the divisions among Christians and applied himself zealously to drawing the divided together. Still he strove more for a union of spirit, independent of confessional allegiance, than for conversion to any fixed denomination. He entertained little hope of results from negotiations for union and juridico-authoritarian union. It is true that in general he undervalued the external, visible aspect of the Church. Instead, he made wonderful, profound and pregnant observations on the mystery of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ, as also on many points about the Trinity and the Incarnation. Though he rejected decisively the primacy of the Pope and the universal claim of the Catholic Church to be the only true Church, yet he on occasions accorded it high praise, at times even an admiring recognition.

Berdyayev's active interest in the destiny of man had the consequence that from his very youth he applied his attention to social problems. The two great social structures, the political society of the State and the ecclesiastical community, were the regular object of his thought and study. He placed the individual decisively above any society and that is what he meant when he called his (in any case more outlined than elaborated) sociology "personal socialism." He sought to build up for himself his "apophatical," i.e. negative, sociology in which he excluded from the ideal community all recognized social forms—monarchy, theocracy, aristocracy, democracy, authoritarianism, liberalism, bourgeoisie, fascism, communism—even anarchism. This ideal picture of a future (but on earth unrealizable) type of association recalls the classless society which, it is said, will be the fruits of socialist

communist dominance. Berdyaev who was sprung from noble stock and never lost consciousness of that fact nevertheless always remained in some respects true to his youthful enthusiasm for Marxism. On the one hand, classed in Lenin's eyes as the philosopher of the bourgeoisie and banished from Russia as an ideological opponent of Communism, he wrote thereon his vehement *Philosophy of Inequality* (Berlin, 1923), a burning refutation of the Triumphant Revolution and of Communism, and later on, though with greater temperance and restraint, applied himself to criticism of them in a series of writings that discuss problems similar to those of the Revolution and of Communism, and made no little contribution to their elucidation and solution. On the other hand, he was steadily inclined towards the Left in his social convictions. To this circumstance and to his ardent patriotism, kindled afresh to enthusiasm by the great victory of the Soviet Union, is readily to be ascribed the fact that, particularly in the last years of his life, he put fresh hopes in communist Russia and (together with Lieb, Professor of Protestant Theology in Bâles who befriended him) tried to convince himself that there had occurred there a change of heart, an inclination to "humanism," i.e. a more humanitarian and humane regime. He even made his peace with the Soviet authorities, sought contacts with the Soviet diplomatic representatives in Paris and awaited the year and the day—but with a significant lack of success—for permission to return to Russia.

What Berdyaev has written on social questions in connection with social conditions of the present day and the events in Russia and on the meaning and destiny of Russian Communism belongs in our view to the best products of his pen (Cf. *Russian Religious Psychology and Communistic Atheism*, Paris, 1931; *Christianity and Class Warfare*, Paris, 1931). Yet his best, most acute, penetrating and objective judgments are often not precisely in those places where he develops his own, often subjective and at times indeed phantastic, ideas but where he exposes and criticizes the thoughts of others. His monographs on Khomyakov (*A. S. Khomyakov*, Moscow, 1912), on Dostoevsky (*The Outlook of Dostoevsky*, Prague, 1923) and on Leontiev (*Konstantin Leontiev, Sketch on the History of Russian Religious Thought*, Paris, 1926), as well as one of his last books (*The Russian Idea; Fundamental Problems of Russian Thought of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Paris, 1946), reveal not only the skill and thought of the

writer but of his psychological insight. For his real aim was not to propose a new detail. Yet he then that would observe how and theology he is not of his "gnosis" is personal, subjective, on the rocks of the Catholicism has been left a picture of a acknowledged there are for on revealed Providence, authority of ing of ascer on truths of the knowledge Berdyaev n he retains a sophy: wi criticizing intended n a work on in his myst with object and believ immediate

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writer but contain also excellent characterizations and much psychological as well as historical, valuable material. All the same, his judgment is to be accepted only with caution. For his real desire was not to solve and decide questions but to propose them and to expose them down to the last detail. Yet he frequently forgets that this is his purpose and he then begins to dogmatize and teach with an authority that would brook no contradiction. It is interesting to observe how he continually mingles questions of philosophy and theology and ventures into a field where, as a philosopher, he is not competent. Berdyaev's "Christian philosophy," his "gnosis" or theosophy is founded much more on personal, subjective, arbitrary intuitions and preferences than on the rock of objective, divine Revelation. Not only from the Catholic but also from the Orthodox side the charge has been levelled against him, that he offers only a distorted picture of Christian truth and many an Orthodox will not acknowledge his Christianity as orthodox. And in fact there are found in his writings numerous errors not only on revealed doctrines like God's absolute dominion, and Providence, Redemption, the nature of the Church, the authority of Tradition, the teaching of the Fathers, the meaning of ascetism, Christian marriage, the family, etc., but also on truths of fundamental theology, as God's knowledge and the knowledge of truth in general. In his theory of knowledge Berdyaev moves between two extremes. On the one hand, he retains a position based on the scepticism of Kant's philosophy: with the help of pure reason, which he is for ever criticizing and whose force he constantly depreciates, he intended nevertheless towards the end of his life to write a work on the criticism of Revelation. On the other hand, in his mystical Realism he exaggerates the identity of subject with object, of faith and knowledge and mystical experience, and believes that in his philosophy of spirit he comes into immediate contact with all true reality.

Berdyaev's philosophy is, nevertheless, deeply rooted in the life of the modern man. That is its great asset and the reason of its success. To all men of the present-day world he has given an insight into provocative questions in the philosophical, religious, cultural, social and political fields, has taken an active share in discovering their solutions and has communicated to the readers of his books an abundance of experiences, knowledge, stimulation and intuitions and disclosed the connections between these. Yet Berdyaev



felt himself isolated like a solitary voice in the wilderness. It was no accident that he gave to his philosophical study *I and the World of Objects* the sub-title *Essay on a Philosophy of Solitude and Community*. And for Berdyaev life was always lonely. About a decade earlier, in November 1938, Leo Shestov, the other important representative of Russian Existentialism, preceded him in death. In July 1944 he lost his friend, the Archpriest Sergius Bulgakov. The much younger writer of talent, K. Mochulsky, died two days before him. Few only survive of that coterie which at the beginning of the century took their heritage from Soloviev. There still lives in Rome, where he draws his long life to a close in spiritual freshness and vigour, Wenceslas Ivanov. But he, too, is wrapt in solitude. For him, as for Berdyaev, though in a different way, Soloviev was a guide, but a guide who drew him into Catholic truth. And that remains among the numerous, in many cases highly gifted, successors of Soloviev and continuers of his thought—the two brothers Sergius and Eugen Trubetskoy, Ern, Florensky, Bulgakov, Karsavin, etc.—ever an exception.

Berdyaev's death has created a significant break. And this break will be most felt by the representatives of Russian religious learning and philosophy. It is true that Russian philosophy in exile still possesses in N. Lossky and S. Frank noteworthy representatives even if, in distinction to Berdyaev, in a more professionally scientific way. Yet Berdyaev's death gives rise to the question, whether there is now anyone who can take up the legacy he has left and expose and develop his ideas; or, if not, whether the movement of the beginning of the century that held in itself so much promise, the "Renaissance of New Russia," which was so suddenly interrupted by the Bolshevik Revolution and could never establish itself again in its native Russia, has now come to a deferred, but final, end also in the Emigration.

BERNHARD SCHULTZE, S.J.

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This is a list of Berdyayev's works that have been translated into English.—THE EDITOR.

- The Russian Revolution*, 1931. (Sheed and Ward).  
*Christianity and Class War*, 1932. (Sheed and Ward).  
*The End of our Time*, 1933. (Sheed and Ward).  
*Dostoevsky*, 1934. (Sheed and Ward).  
*Freedom and the Spirit*, 1935. (Geoffrey Bles).  
*The Meaning of History*, 1936. (Geoffrey Bles).  
*The Destiny of Man*, 1937. (Geoffrey Bles).  
*The Origin of Russian Communism*, 1937. (Geoffrey Bles).  
*Solitude and Society*, 1938. (Geoffrey Bles).  
*Spirit and Reality*, 1939. (Geoffrey Bles).  
*Leontiev*, 1940. (Geoffrey Bles).  
*Slavery and Freedom*, 1943. (Geoffrey Bles).  
*The Russian Idea*, 1947. (Geoffrey Bles).  
*Towards a New Epoch*, 1949. (Geoffrey Bles).  
*Autobiography and Dialectic of the Divine and the Human*, both in preparation.

## VLADIMIR SOLOVIEV AS A BRIDGE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

**A**NY discordance, cleavage or split among large groups of men is a manifestation of the underlying fact which the Scripture calls "the confusion of tongues." This "confusion" does not mean mere linguistic difficulties in mutual understanding between sections of mankind, but mainly something of deeper significance, namely the differences in the very composition of the human being. Mankind was "scattered abroad upon the face of all the earth" not because its single groups had acquired a special taste for this or that combination of sounds but chiefly because they felt each other to be strangers. They became estranged on account of unlikeness of their bodily and psychical composition: it was the variance of compositions which divided single groups of men, i.e. which "scattered them abroad upon the face of all the earth." This "being scattered abroad" bears upon the frame of mind as well. Instead of reflecting universal truth—like in a mirror—the human mind develops an autonomous activity and produces "opinions" of its own. If the mind were not influenced by the subjective factor in man, that is to say by "the confusion of tongues," there would be only either knowledge or ignorance, but no third state, that of "opinion."

Opinions are the mental manifestations of the confusion of tongues, just as the plurality of spoken languages is its manifestation in the field of the technique of expression. They are the mental corollary to the disintegration of the original universal language: just as the latter has become plurality of idioms so the original consciousness of truth has become plurality of opinions. Now, disintegration is the process of decay leading to death, whilst integration is life. Humanity, as a whole, and its culture, as a whole, was slowly but constantly moving towards a general, and final atomization—towards becoming "dust of the earth" again, or death.

If nothing had happened to restore its unity, the time would have come when there would have been as many "truths" as there were men and, hence, as many languages, too. That would have led to the "war of all against all," to the actual disintegration of mankind as a body—to its death. That was the historical way, which led to "death and perdition," and which was determined by the impetus to be

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But the other hand, is still an e "mutual peace," e thought an "bridges" as ever. S and the Ea centuries ag away of th Universal e that it succo Turks and, in the cou achieved i dependent whole area fighting for heathen ru possible be latter is no heathen rul East and W curtain" t likewise on between th For it may is opportu

"scattered abroad," as it has become natural tendency and part of human nature. The *historical* aspect of the Work of Salvation is the re-integration of humanity into one body again. The Mystical Body of Christ is the restored union of mankind, whereby the established multiplicity of languages is to be overcome by the supernatural working of the Pentecostal Spirit, and the natural mind is to be freed by the supernatural revelation of faith from the confusion of opinions. Two thousand years ago the outcome of human history was hopeless; nineteen centuries ago hope dawned again, when charity manifested its re-integrating power against the separatist tendency of human nature and faith restored the capability of the human mind to reflect truth and disentangle it from the jungle of subjective opinions.

But the work of re-integration or healing of mankind in the historical process operates gradually and slowly. On the other hand, hostile reaction grows stronger too. Thus there is still an enormous field for any activities directed towards "mutual understanding," "tolerance," "reconciliation," "peace," etc. among nations, political movements, trends of thought and religious denominations. The problem of "bridges" between split parts of humanity is as vital today as ever. So also is the question of a bridge between the West and the East of Europe, torn asunder by a schism some nine centuries ago, and by all its fatal implications. The breaking away of the eastern part of Christendom from the Church Universal entailed such a weakening of the Eastern Church that it succumbed to its foes—first the Saracens, then the Turks and, finally, the Communists. So it came about that in the course of history Eastern Christendom completely achieved its independence of Rome but became instead dependent on Mohammedans and atheists. Today, of the whole area of Eastern Christendom of yore only Greece is still fighting for her existence, whilst the whole of the rest is under heathen rule. No negotiations whatsoever are therefore possible between Western and Eastern Christianity, since the latter is not free to undertake them, unless allowed to by its heathen rulers. In this sense, there is no bridge at all between East and West today. On the other hand, behind the "iron curtain" there are minds and hearts that think and feel; likewise on this side of the curtain. The question of a bridge between the Christian outlook there and here is still essential. For it may prove a language to be used when once again there is opportunity for speech. Therefore the question which

will be dealt with here, is, whether a bridge or link exists and if so, of what kind, between Eastern and Western Christendom.

The general notion of a bridge between two dissenting parties today is in the main that of a compromise. One party has to give up some of its claims and so does the other in order that they may meet halfway. Beneath it lies the merchant's conception of bargaining, though it chooses to pose as wisdom. But this kind of wisdom is no more applicable to the field of moral and religious convictions than it would be to the domain of arithmetic. If two parties disagree to the outcome say of multiplication, and compromise by adding a bit to the number upheld by the one party and by taking a bit from the result asserted by the other party it would inevitably lead to a wrong solution for both. The same applies to compromises in moral and religious matters: they inevitably lead both parties to wrong conclusions. If, therefore, there is any question of a bridge between the Christian West and the Christian East, it is not to be found in any kind of compromise on bargaining basis. One cannot agree upon a fallacy; one can only agree upon the truth. Hence, a "bridge" practicable as such on the level of morality and religion must lead uncompromisingly to the truth—and not merely to a satisfaction of both parties.

Is there a way of this kind, which can lead to a true union of all that is best and most comprehensive in Eastern Christian culture both of the intellect and of the heart with its equivalent in the West?

Now, the essential contention of this thesis is that there is such a way. It is not theoretical or abstract, but as real and alive as a human being. For it is to be found actually in the spiritual life of a human being, namely Vladimir Soloviev,<sup>1</sup> Russia's philosopher, historian and poet, which leads the way to a fusion of all that is best in the East and in the West. He achieved it in his conscious being; if one man achieved it, many others may do so too.

<sup>1</sup> BIBLIOGRAPHY. The following works of Vladimir Soloviev have been translated into English. The Editor.

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Soloviev's spiritual biography may be summarized in four sentences, each one symbolizing a stage of his life-work, the building of a bridge between East and West :

Western natural science and rational philosophy is the truth and the only way to truth (held in his youth up to 21 years of age) ;

The sense of History is Christianity and the sense of Christianity is preserved undistorted by the Eastern Church and the Russian people (the view he upheld at the age of 28) ;

Western Christianity possesses all the same values as the Eastern Church and furthermore some values which the latter lost and can regain only by reunion (the conviction he arrives at after the death of Dostoevsky in 1882) ;

The restoration of the Unity will be achieved in the presence of the Antichrist incarnate, since today the clergy, society and the Government turn a deaf ear to the advocates of reunion (his final vision before his death in 1900).

Thus, the way of Soloviev starts with positivism, leads to slavophil messianism and from there to the discovery of the Church Universal. Finally, owing to his experience in his endeavour to further the cause of reunion, he despairs of the possibility of a free reunion without the threat of catastrophe and predicts that it will be achieved under the pressure of the highest common danger—the coming of Antichrist.

These phases of Soloviev's spiritual evolution mean that he was the man, nay, he *is* the man even today, who personifies the real and genuine bridge between the Christian East and the Christian West. For he becomes fully aware first of the secular "top-culture" of the West : natural science and the summits of Western idealistic philosophy (he was a graduated Doctor of Philosophy) ; then he discovers the value of the traditional Christianity of the East (he studied theology and Hebrew) and becomes a conscious protagonist of the Eastern Christian outlook ; he defends this outlook with brilliant argument and almost exhaustive erudition against scepticism and atheism at home and against the West—especially against the Roman Catholic Church—abroad. He journeys with his friend Feodor Dostoevsky to the Optina Pustyn to see the saintly atarets Ambrosius (the prototype of the starets Zosima, combined with some characteristics of Tichon of Zadonsk, in Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamszov*) ; he becomes in slavophil circles their long-expected ideological representative. Yet a few years later (1883) he wrote to his friend Kireyev : "With me everything turns now around the question of the

union of the Churches : whatever I start to write about, it ends always with—*ceterum censeo instaurandam esse Ecclesiae unitatem.*" And one year later : "*Primum et ante omnia Ecclesiae Unitas instauranda, ignis fovendus in gremio sponsae Christi.*" And another year later to the Bishop Strossmayer in Croatia : "Upon this Union depends the destiny of Russia, of Slavdom and of the whole world. We Russians, we Orthodox people and the whole East can achieve nothing as long as we have not undone the fault of the separation of the Churches, as long as we have failed to show such an attitude towards the highly venerable Authority (the Holy See) to which she is entitled."

In his book (written in French and published in France in 1889 on account of the censorship in Russia) *La Russie et l'Eglise Universelle* Soloviev gave the world a precious contribution to both the Christian philosophy of history and catholic apologetics, which some critics<sup>1</sup> place nearest to Bossuet's *L'Histoire des Variations des Eglises protestantes* and the *Symbolik* by J. A. Moehler.

The change from a leading slavophil to an ardent champion of the rock of Saint Peter seems more astonishing the more one is aware of the main features of Soloviev's doctrine during his Orthodox and slavophil period. At that time Soloviev upheld the point of view that the separate existence of the Eastern Church is justified by the general decline of the West, whose soul is Rome, and by the non-participation of the East (whose soul is Russia) in that decline. The East kept the pure tradition of Christianity which did not succumb to the three temptations in the wilderness as did Western Christianity. The surrender of the West to the three temptations did not happen at once ; it happened gradually over a long period of history. First there took place the yielding to the temptation to prefer temporal power to the spiritual power of the Cross. The Roman Catholic Church had taken the sword of the Cæsars and made use of it in order to keep humanity in subjection. She forsook her primeval faith in the power of goodness as such by resorting to the use of physical force. This error has been understood in the West, but that understanding did not lead to recovery but led on the contrary to a further fall. The sin of Protestantism is intellectual hubris, the self-reliance and self-assertion of the

<sup>1</sup> For instance Prof. Vladimir Szyllkarski (University of Bonn) in his recently published book *Soloviev und Dostojewski*, p.21.

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individual intellect. This led in its turn to the rationalism of the secular "enlightenment" of the eighteenth century and prepared the way for the next fall, namely that of the "hubris of the flesh," i.e. materialism. Thus the West came to aspire to turn stones into bread.

The West being thus arraigned simultaneously by Soloviev the historian and by Dostoevsky the writer (in *The Tale of the Grand Inquisitor*) had never to face such a charge on so high a level and put forth by so worthy and gifted accusers.

What is the answer to those accusations?

The answer lies in the fact that the accuser—who knew everything which was of value in the East—changed his mind. Dostoevsky died soon after the publication of the novel *The Brothers Karamzov*, but Soloviev lived on after the publication of his *Twelve lectures on God-manhood* (1878), in which the theory of the surrender of the West to the three temptations had been launched. One cannot assert that Dostoevsky, if he had lived longer, would have gone further on the same way together with his hitherto companion Soloviev. Perhaps he would have stopped short of that. But Soloviev, who shared all the essential beliefs of Dostoevsky and who, moreover, strengthened them by historical and theological arguments, continued to deepen, to clarify, to verify and to work on his own contentions and their implications to their full extent—and arrived at as lucid and complete a refutation of his own accusations as they were clear and seemingly irrefutable when they were first formulated. Thus, the way of Soloviev is the answer to the accusations brought forward by the most conscious and most competent representative of Eastern Christian ideology—and in it lies their refutation.

How did Soloviev arrive at the conviction that "the Russians, the Orthodox people and the whole East can achieve nothing so long as they have not undone the fault of the separation of the Churches, as long as they have failed to show such an attitude towards that highly venerable Authority (the Holy See) to which she is entitled?"

The first step on the road from nationalist self-sufficiency to a broader outlook on the whole humanity was due to the application of the criticism, aimed at the West, to the East as well. It was only common fairness which showed Soloviev the fallacy of the slavophil doctrine that Western Christianity had adopted the principle of compulsion—thus betraying

the spirit of Christianity—whilst Eastern Christianity had remained faithful to the original and paramount duty to build on charity in freedom. "What objection can there be," says Soloviev, "to such an ideal? Who among the Roman Catholics would impose the outward authority of ecclesiastical rule, if he were confronted with humanity or at least with an essential part of humanity which, permeated by divine love and brotherly benevolence, had only *one* soul and *one* heart and therefore lived in a free and complete spiritual union?" But it is not the ideal of the East and the historical reality of the West which ought to be compared, but the historical reality of both. The comparison of historical facts in the East and in the West taught Soloviev that the slavophil contention of the Eastern Church being a union in freedom and love was merely a dream. The slavophiles had built a beautiful temple where freedom, union and love reigned in harmony, but the only deficiency of that building proved to be its never having existed outside the fancy of its builders.

Fair comparison of historical facts established that the steadfast faithfulness of the Eastern Church to pure orthodoxy and to the principle of union through charity in freedom was a myth. It proved that there was much more loyalty to orthodoxy in the West than in the East, since almost all major heresies had originated in the East and had had their period of ascendancy there, fomented by high ecclesiastical dignitaries of the East and sponsored by the emperors of Constantinople: Arianism and Nestorianism, which denied the plenitude of divinity in the person of Christ; Monophysitism and Monotheletism, which denied the reality of human nature in Christ; and the iconoclastic movement, which attempted to destroy all outward means of worshipping the saints.

If these heresies were overcome, it was mainly due to the steadfast faith of the Holy See in Rome which never succumbed to any of them—and not to that of the Eastern patriarchs and emperors who all too often espoused the cause of various heresies.

On the other hand, the slavophil contention that the unity of the Eastern Church was due to a "free union in love" proved to be as unreal as the claim to unswerving loyalty. Soloviev's researches led him to the statement that there was no union at all; since the several national churches of the East, which are absolutely independent of each other, not only were at variance in essential issues, but even condemned and excommunicated each other. To take an example, a certain

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Anglican<sup>1</sup> was ready to join the Catholic Orthodox Church—mind, he did not want to join the *Russian* Orthodox Church, nor the Greek, but the Eastern Church as such. After making enquiries he learned that if he were received by the Russian Church he would not be recognized as Orthodox by the Greek Church and would have to be re-baptized there, as the Greek Church considered Anglican baptism to be null, whilst the Russian Church held it to be valid. So the Anglican seeking for the Universal Church abandoned his search for it in the East.

Another example of disunity quoted by Soloviev is the little known fact that the Bulgarian Church excommunicated the Russian Church, whereon the holy synod of the latter did not react in any way. The excommunication has never been revoked; it seems simply to have fallen into oblivion.

A certain unity in dogmatic teaching and in the rite has been, nevertheless, preserved by the different national Churches of the East. But this has not been achieved without resorting to compulsion, nor without persecutions of the many different sects which were so abundantly represented, in particular in Russia.<sup>2</sup> The sectarians were often subjected to bloody persecutions, especially the Staroviery (the faithful of the Old Faith) or Staroobriatsy (partisans of the ancient rite), whose opposition to the Nikonian church-reform was led by the Protopope Avvakum who was tortured to death for his unyielding opposition to the innovations in the Russian Church in the seventeenth century. Actually it was the state who enforced the unity of the faithful by its measures of coercion and discriminative legislation. Thus, the slavophil contention that the Church of the East is, in contrast to the Church of the West, a free union based on love and consent, was false.

The same fairness, which obliged Soloviev to subject the historical facts of the East to the same criticism which he had first applied to the West, led him to seek as intensely the spiritual values, the positive aspects, of Western Christianity as he did in the past concerning the Eastern Church.

The second stage of Soloviev's journey took him on from unbiased criticism of his own party to positive appreciation

<sup>1</sup> One Dr. Palmer, the friend of Khomiakov, the most prominent slavophil leader.

<sup>2</sup> Niemoliaki, Medalshiki, Sekachi, Bielorzitsy, Sutayevtsy, Skoptsy, Duhobory, Hiysty, Shaloputy, Pashkovtsy, Strigolniki, Yedinoviery, Filippovtsy, Fedoseyevtsy—not to mention the millions of Staroobriadsy and the sects of Western origin (Evangelicals, Baptists, Stundists etc.).

of his former foe. At this stage Soloviev discovered that the Church of the West—far from having betrayed the spirit of Charity—embodied even more of this spirit than the Church of the East. He expressed this idea by using a simile borrowed from the treasure of Russian popular religious legends :

Once upon a time St. Nicholas and St. Cassian were sent from Heaven to visit the Earth. While travelling on Earth they noticed one day that the cart of a poor peasant was stuck fast in the mud. St. Nicholas wanted at once to lend the peasant a hand, but St. Cassian objected that the mud would stain their white garments. St. Cassian therefore went on alone, whilst St. Nicholas helped the poor peasant out of his plight with all his might and main. Having finished his work, St. Nicholas caught up with St. Cassian and both arrived at the Gate of Heaven. St. Peter was amazed at the sight of St. Nicholas and asked him, what had happened to him on Earth that he should arrive so dirty. St. Nicholas related the story of the cart in the mud. "And thou," says St. Peter to St. Cassian, "wert thou not present at the adventure?" "I was, but it is not my custom to interfere in other people's business; how else could I keep my flawless white garment unstained?" "Well then," says St. Peter, "thou, my beloved Nicholas, wilt have thy feast kept twice in the year, and all the peasants of Holy Russia will worship thee as the greatest Saint in Heaven next to me, because thou hast not hesitated to dirty thy clothes. But thou, Cassian, be content to wear thy flawless garments: thou wilt have thy feast kept but every leap-year, thus once only in four years."

"We like"—says Soloviev—"the bright and radiant garment of St. Cassian. But, as our cart has stuck fast in the mud of the road, it is St. Nicholas of whom we are in need above all, that unshrinking Saint who is always ready to intervene to help us . . ." For many centuries "the Catholic Church was the only power which maintained moral order and spiritual culture among the barbarian peoples of Europe . . . She bore the burden of responsibility for both the material welfare and spiritual education of those wild tribes giving them leadership and a higher level of civilization. When the papacy, like St. Nicholas in the legend, devoted itself to this hard work, it thought less of its outward cleanliness than of the real need of mankind . . . Christ founded His visible Church not merely for the contemplation of Heaven, but mainly that she should work and take up the challenge of the gates of hell."

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Many further thoughts can be quoted from the works of Soloviev on this subject, but the parable of Cassian and Nicholas expresses the decisive factor: the moral problem it contains makes the bridge between East and West touch the Western shore. His conclusion is this: the Church of the East shall become a living one, "which will act, struggle and triumph!" But to achieve this change lies not in her power alone; it can be achieved only by unity "with that great universal centre which Providence has ordained to be placed in the West."

A recently published article in *The Tablet* (13th November 1948) on *Russia and the Universal Church*, by A. H. Armstrong, sums up the significance of Soloviev by the statement: "Soloviev is the least safe of guides or masters, but there is no doubt that he was a man upon whom at times the gift of prophetic insight descended." Perhaps, he is the least safe of guides or masters for one who feels already safe and is not looking for a guide, but he is at least a safe guide for the Christian peoples of the East who seek a way leading to the reunion of the traditional Christianity of the East with the traditional Christianity of the West. Soloviev is a safe bridge between East and West; he is a bridge of free recognition of the Universal Truth which has freely overcome nationalistic and regional influences. His is the way which leads from opinion to truth.

VALENTINE TOMBERG.

#### POSTSCRIPT

The author of this article is of Estonian origin but born and educated in Russia and belonged to the Orthodox Church, he now is reconciled with the Catholic Church.

An article of his appeared in *The Dublin Review* (1948 Last Quarter) "On the present position of the Russian Church today and her future prospects." In this article there are some points of very great interest notably his experiences with the Russian D.P's. in Germany but we think many of his judgements are open to criticism. We consider specially his treatment of the Byzantines to be unfair, this also applies to Vladimir Soloviev himself but he had not the benefit of recent research on the subject.

The words that Dr. Fortescue once wrote cannot be too often repeated, speaking of the Orthodox under the Turk he said—"it is to the eternal glory of the Orthodox people that as a people it has remained faithful . . . But we, who have

never had to sit under the shadow of the Sultan's blood-stained throne, if we remember the ugly story of their fathers' schism must also remember how valiantly the Eastern Christians have stood for Christ ever since and how in the days of her trial the Byzantine Church, once so foolish and obstinate, has sent that long procession of her children to join the white-robed army of martyrs."

In connection with the present article it will be of interest to quote some words Professor Berdyaev wrote in the first issue of *The Œcumenical Review* (Autumn 1948) concerning Vladimir Soloviev and the Œcumenical movement.—"He was perhaps the only, or almost the only, man who strove absolutely wholeheartedly for the union of the Churches and for true Œcumenicity, at any rate so far as the Catholic Church was concerned." He goes on to stress Soloviev's significance for the Œcumenical movement; this at any rate bears out Dr. Tomberg's contention that Vladimir Soloviev is the bridge between East and West.—THE EDITOR.

## REDEMPTORISTS OF THE BYZANTINE RITE

This article should have a special interest in these days as it shows forth the vitality of the Catholic Ukrainian Church. Persecuted in their own home country and officially dead, yet elsewhere the Catholic Ukrainians are getting organized and preparing themselves for the future.

The famous Theological Academy founded by the Metropolitan Szepticky in Lvov is now re-established at Kulemborg in Holland thanks to the Dutch Catholic Society—"Union Apostolate"—founded by the metropolitan himself some twenty-five years ago. We may be able to give in a future issue some account of the Catholic Ukrainians in Europe.

In 1946 (October-December issue) we gave an historical outline of the Ukrainians established in the U.S.A., this article will consider some of their work in Canada. Here again we shall see the hand of the great metropolitan at work for though the monk Andrew Szepticky established the studite monasteries in the full tradition of Byzantine monasticism, yet, as bishop, he had a care for his flock and was ready

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to use new methods when needed but without any hurt to the Slav-Byzantine tradition of his rite.

We wish to thank the author and the translator who has adapted the original paper as also the editor of the *Acta* for allowing us to publish the same.—THE EDITOR.

**A**HUNDRED years ago there began a large-scale migration of Ruthenians to the prairies and forests of central and south-west Canada (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta). Unable to provide for themselves in their native countries of Galicia and Subcarpathia they turned hopefully to the New World, ready to suffer all the ills of exile, isolation and heavy work in return for a livelihood. How firmly settled they eventually came to be may be judged from the latest statistics available. In 1932 there were 300,000 faithful of the Byzantine rite, and some 70,000 schismatics, for the most part settled in these three provinces.

From the outset these Catholic Ukrainians had been resolutely attached to their own rite, a form of the Byzantine-Slavonic rite modified under the influence of the Latin. Because of the general shortage of priests in Canada, coupled with the special difficulties arising from difference of language and liturgy, the immigrants soon found themselves in a critical religious condition. Rather than run the risk of becoming latinized they fell ready victims to the propaganda of schismatic leaders, especially of one Seraphim, self-styled metropolitan of the Orthodox Russian Church in America.

Clearly there was a crying need for European priests to come to the aid of these abandoned souls, and at length in 1898, Mgr. Langevin, bishop of Saint-Boniface in Manitoba, made a personal appeal to the provincial superior of the Belgian Redemptorists. Father Achille Delaere, C.S.S.R., 31 years of age and but recently ordained, volunteered for the work. After several months spent in Poland, learning the elements of the Ruthenian language, this young and zealous priest arrived at the Redemptorist house of Brandon, in Manitoba, on the 11th October, 1899, and at once embarked on his new apostolate.

In the autumn of 1901 Mgr. Szepticky, Ruthenian metropolitan of Galicia, sent one of his priests as visitor to Canada. As a result of this visitation it was decided that Yorkton, in Saskatchewan, would be a better centre for Father Delaere's activity, and accordingly in 1904 the Belgian missionary was transferred there. As the radius of his apostolic ministry

increased, Father Delaere became more and more convinced that his usefulness was impaired by the fact of his belonging to the Latin rite. He applied to Rome for permission to change to the Byzantine rite, and after prolonged negotiations received a favourable reply on the 21st August 1906. Permission was granted, "ad experimentum," for one year only, accompanied by a special blessing from Pope Pius X. On 26th September of that year Father Delaere celebrated Mass for the first time in the Ruthenian rite, offering it for the intentions of the Holy Father.

Having crossed the Rubicon, as he himself used to put it, Father Delaere now saw lying before him a vast field of work and one that showed signs of an abundant harvest. He was soon joined by three more Belgian confrères, but their combined forces proved too weak to cope with the demands made upon them. Providence came to their aid in 1910, on the occasion of a visit from Mgr. Szepticky who was in Canada for the International Eucharistic Congress held in Montreal. Noting with satisfaction the good work performed by the small band of pioneers, he suggested that a Redemptorist house of the Byzantine rite be opened in his own arch-diocese, with a view to laying more secure foundations for the future supply of missionaries. This he continued to urge in his letters, and in December 1911 he sought an interview with the general of the Redemptorists and begged him most earnestly to accede to his request.

Father Delaere was called to Rome in the following year to advise the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda in the matter of setting up an independent Ordinariate for the Ruthenians resident in Canada, and to his great joy this project was crowned with success by the publication of the brief *Officium supremi* of 15th July 1912. After a private audience with the Holy Father on 12th May, he was received by Cardinal Gotti, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, and communicated his desire for a Redemptorist foundation of the Byzantine rite in Galicia. In a written memorial presented to the cardinal, Father Delaere stressed the need for the education and formation of Redemptorist missionaries who should work among the Ruthenians, and eventually the necessity of building up a body of religious priests from among the Ruthenians themselves in Europe and North America. Consent was readily given to the plan, and by the beginning of July of that year everything was set for a new foundation in Leopold (Lemberg, or Lvów), but at the last moment fresh

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difficulties cropped up and Father Delaere had to return disheartened to Canada.

Mgr. Budka, first bishop of the Ruthenians in Canada, took possession of his See in December 1912, and within a few weeks sanctioned the erection of Redemptorist houses of the Byzantine rite in Canada, and urged that the training of the first recruits should be done in Galicia under the supervision of the archbishop of Leopold. The latter also returned to the attack, and in May 1913 succeeded in reaching an agreement with the Most Rev. P. Murray, superior general of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer.

Hitherto the Redemptorists of the Byzantine rite had been living with their English-speaking confrères in Yorkton, and sharing the same church. In June 1913 Father Delaere set about the erection of a new house and magnificent church in the same town for the exclusive use of the Ruthenian-speaking fathers, and gradually this became a most important centre of the apostolate to the Canadian Ukrainians. A small preparatory school was added for the training of aspirants to the Redemptorist Congregation, and in 1922 a printing press opened. A second permanent foundation was made at Ituna in 1919. Altogether twenty-six Redemptorist fathers from Belgium followed the example of Father Delaere, several of whom however eventually returned to their own country and the Latin rite. From 1927 onwards, due to the natural growth of the Ruthenian vice-province, no further call was made upon Belgium for personnel.

The first foundation in Galicia was made at Unev in August 1913 by four fathers and two lay-brothers from Belgium under the leadership of Father Schrijvers. They remained at their post throughout the first world war, moving to Zboiska in 1918, and establishing a preparatory school there three years later. Five more permanent foundations followed, the most important that of Tarnopol, where the celebrated shrine of Our Lady was entrusted to their care. It was from the community at Kovel that Father Czarneckyj, formerly spiritual director and professor of the seminary at Stanislavov and a Redemptorist since 1919, was appointed in 1931 apostolic visitor of the Catholics belonging to the Byzantine-Slav rite living outside the metropolitan territory of Leopold.

The houses in Galicia were erected into a vice-province in 1921, and ten years later the Canadian foundations were definitely aggregated to it; since 1936 this has borne the name of the Lvov-Leopold vice-province.



Up to 1934 the newly-professed clerical students were sent to Louvain and Beauplateau to pursue their philosophical and theological studies side by side with the Belgian Redemptorist students, but in that year the Polish authorities refused to grant visas for the purpose. The students were accordingly lodged at Zboiska.

It had taken over a quarter of a century to lay the foundations of this mission in Galicia, and just when all was set for a promising future the last war broke out and in its course engulfed the vice-province of Leopold. The communities were dispersed, some members going to western Europe and the majority to North America. In 1940 the difficult work of formation was started afresh with the opening of a preparatory college at Roblin, Manitoba. Six years later the first foundation in the United States was made at Newark, and in the following year sufficient recruits were forthcoming to justify the inception of a scholasticate at Waterford, Ontario. So matters stand at present.

The standard-bearer of the transalpine Redemptorists was St. Clement Mary Hofbauer (1751-1820), a Bohemian, and he attracted many of his fellow-countrymen to the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. Yet it was not till 1901 that a separate Prague province was canonically erected. Five years later, in the house of studies at Oboriste near Prague, a pious "Union of prayer for the conversion of Slavs" was inaugurated. Preparation was made for a future apostolate in the Balkans, and from 1913 to 1921 a manuscript review was published in Croatian, Serbian and other Slavonic languages. The first contact with the Byzantine rite was made in 1919, when two Czech Redemptorists went to the assistance of their Belgian and Ukrainian confrères in Galicia and laboured there for two years. At the request of the bishop of Cassov they were recalled to take possession of an abandoned Franciscan friary at Stropkov, in the east of Slovakia, and there set up a centre of resistance to the widespread proselytism fostered by Russian émigrés. Hundreds of villages had relapsed into schism. By dint of continuous apostolic work these two valiant missionaries largely stemmed the tide, and in November 1923 were able to organize a triduum in honour of St. Josaphat which was attended by 10,000 peasants reconfirmed in the Catholic faith.

From 1924 onwards a steady supply of missionaries was sent out from the Prague province to maintain and extend the apostolate to the Slav Uniates in Slovakia and Yugoslavia.

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## Redemptorists of the Byzantine Rite 69

In 1935 the first Redemptorist priest belonging since birth to the Byzantine rite had completed his studies at Oboriste. New foundations were made, the churches being constructed in the ancient Ukrainian style. In 1937 an attempt was made to settle at Chust, in the heart of Russian Subcarpathia, but the enterprise had to be abandoned because of the political conditions. In spite of the upset caused by the war, the work was sufficiently consolidated by the end of 1945 to enable a new vice-province (Michalovce) of the Byzantine rite to be canonically erected.

The pre-war status of the Byzantine rite Redemptorists, in a census taken in August 1938, was as follows:—

	Canada	Galic- Volynia	Subcar- pathia	Total
Houses . . .	2	6	2	10
Fathers . . .	12	40 1 Bishop	9	62
Clerical Students . . .	1	18	6	25
Lay-Brothers . . .	5	28	9	42
Novices . . .	1	9	—	10
Subjects . . .	19	96	24	139

There were, besides, about 150 boys of the Byzantine rite receiving their pre-novitiate training, most of them in Galicia.

The end of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, in accordance with its motto: "*Copiosa apud Eum redemptio*," is to continue the work of the Redemption, especially among the most abandoned souls, by means of missions and retreats for the faithful, foreign missions, the apostolate of the press, the care of pious confraternities, and similar works.

In Galicia the Redemptorists have given on an average fifty missions a year, and on each mission about 2,500 received Holy Communion. For the year 1932 we have exact figures: fifty-nine missions, twenty-one triduos, 138,000 penitents. In Subcarpathia 651 missions and twenty-one triduos were preached in the period 1922-46; the number of confessions heard was reckoned at over half-a-million, and the number of communions distributed about three times as great again.

At the same time the fathers were occupied in both territories in conducting retreats for priests, religious, seminarists and the general faithful. So, for instance, in Galicia in 1932, seventy retreats were preached; among them nine public courses for the faithful, with 4,750 participants. Development was slower in Subcarpathia, only twenty-seven retreats

having been conducted prior to 1935 this number mounting to eighty within the next ten years.

Notwithstanding this crushing amount of active work by the small number of missionaries available, time was found for an extensive apostolate of the press. Original works and translations, reviews and pamphlets, mostly of a directly devotional character, have been published and spread broadcast during the last twenty-five years. One such book, *Manual of the Holy Rosary*,<sup>1</sup> first published in 1927 and reprinted six times, was instrumental in spreading the devotion of the rosary in a way adapted to the traditional prayer-forms of the Ukrainians.

With regard to the schismatics, the Redemptorist apostolate has been largely preventative in its scope, yet a not inconsiderable success may be recorded even in this field of work. Whole villages with their priests have been brought back to the unity of the Church, especially in Volynia and Polesia. Thus, for example, in 1927 5,000 dissidents with two priests were reclaimed from schism; in 1932, 2,700; in the first half of 1934, another 1,000.

A new epoch has thus begun in the history of the Congregation. The exceedingly difficult task of transplanting to the Byzantine rite a Religious Institute, hitherto distinctively Latin, has been accomplished. The pioneer days are ended; now it is only a matter of consolidation and expansion, once political conditions allow. God grant that this little flock, in the words of St. Alphonsus, "may ever go on increasing, not in wealth and honours, but in promoting the glory of God."

Adapted from "I Redentoristi di Rito Orientale," written by Fr. J. Mastyl'ak, C.S.S.R., in *Acta Academiae Velehradensis*, Annus XIX, Fasc. 3-4.

CHARLES MURRAY, C.S.S.R.

<sup>1</sup> This may presumably be the using of the Eastern form of the Hail Mary, or by substituting the Akathistos Hymn for the Latin rosary. For Cardinal Schuster's comparison of the Rosary and the Akathistos Hymn see *E.C.Q.* Jan.-March 1944, p. 260.—THE EDITOR.

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## NEWS AND COMMENTS

*The U.S.S.R. and Central and Eastern Europe.*

We join in the protest against the arrest of Cardinal Mindszenty by the Communist Government in Hungary, as also against the arrest of the Lutheran Bishop Ordass of Budapest. In defence of Christian schools Catholic and Protestant are at one.

We ask for prayers for all Christians who are undergoing persecution and for Christians on the other side.

In this crisis of East and West some words of the Holy Father are to the point. "It seems opportune to us briefly to clarify certain sharp accusations which have been pronounced by some dissidents against the Catholic Church and against the Papacy. Our duty of charity and of love is certainly not diminished, either by attacks or by insults. We are capable of distinguishing between people, often deprived of liberty, and the systems which rule those people. We know the servile attitude which some representatives of a confession called Orthodox manifest towards a conception whose final aim, it has been repeatedly proclaimed, is the stamping out of all Christian religion. We do not ignore the difficult path which many of our beloved sons and daughters have to tread, sons and daughters who have been forced to separate themselves formally from the Mother Church, to which their most intimate convictions bind them, by an open system of violence. With moved heart we admire the heroic firmness of some and with deep sorrow, but not diminished paternal love, we see the spiritual anguish of others, whose external strength of resistance has given way under the excess of an unjust pressure and who have externally suffered a separation which their heart abhors and their conscience deplores." (From the allocution, *Confirma Fratres Tuos*, delivered by Pope Pius XII on Christmas Eve 1948.)

We should extend this charity and understanding to all Christians in these times of stress.

*Rumania.*

We hope to deal with the position there in the July-September issue. And in that of October-December we will deal in an article with the present position of the Russian Church.

*China.*

The latest news of Father Wilcock and his Russian Mission at Shanghai is from a letter dated 9th January. Practically all the non-Soviet Russians are being evacuated by the International Relief Organization. The first group left with Father Ouroussoff, a Russian Catholic priest of the mission. Their hope is to establish themselves eventually in South America. They will need all the prayers and help they can get. The secretary in England is Mrs. N. Baynes, 39 Roland Gardens, London, S.W.7.

*U.S.A. Fordham University.*

The tenth annual Conference on Eastern rites and liturgies took place in March 1948. A small illustrated pamphlet telling of the ten years' work has been published by the Committee. The story of the beginnings by Edmund Burke and the spread of the aims of the movement among the Seminaries is very encouraging. It is an example of what Pope Pius XI meant by an "Oriental Day."

*Cambridge.*

In November 1948 the *Fisher Society* organized a weekend (the 18—21st) of study and prayer for Eastern Europe. Each of the three days commenced with the Slav-Byzantine Liturgy. On the weekdays the choir was formed by the members of the Fisher Society who also carried out the serving at the liturgy. On the Sunday, when there was a concelebration, the Ukrainian choir came from London to sing—the chapel was packed to overflowing.

There were in the afternoons and evenings papers read and discussed:—On Yugoslavia, Poland, Ukraine, and the Moscow Patriarchate. The Cambridge clergy co-operated and the Byzantine priests who celebrated the Liturgies were Fathers C. Sipovic and Father Jean of the Ukrainian Basilians. It was a most excellent venture which we hope will be repeated at Cambridge and elsewhere.

*Malta.*

In the January-June issue of the *E.C.Q.* 1943 there was an account of the Catholic Greek parish in Malta. During the war the Church of Our Lady of Damascus was destroyed. On 3rd November 1948 the first stone of the new church was blessed by the archbishop of Malta. We offer our congratulations to Papas Skiro, the parish priest, and trust that

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he will get all he needs to restore the church in accordance with true Byzantine tradition. There are a large number of the above issue of the *E.C.Q.* that can still be had by sending 2s. to Mr. Coldwell, 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

#### *Istanbul.*

We have received a paper showing how the Church Unity Octave was celebrated in this ancient and historic Christian city. The centre was the Greek Catholic Church of the Holy Trinity. The apostolic exarch of the Byzantine rite is Mgr. Varouhas.

#### *Our Contemporaries.*

We only intend to mention a few articles of special interest. However a longer notice must be given to a new Review dealing with Christian Unity and brought out in Holland.

*Het Christeyk Oosten en Hereniging*. Vol. I. No. 1. (Halle, Holland).

A new quarterly review, *Het Christeyk Oosten en Hereniging*, concerned with the Eastern Church and Reunion, is being published by the Assumptionist Fathers in Belgium and Holland. This is the first review of its size and quality to appear in Dutch and therefore deserves a special mention. Already during the war and after the liberation a small publication of pamphlet size called "The Christian East" had been published in order to keep a group of sympathizers informed as to the main problems which concern the Eastern Churches. The steady growth in numbers of those interested and of requests to enlarge the basis of study in these matters have made the present review possible and even necessary.

A foreword by the editors gives the spirit in which the review is being conducted and defines its main object as "a contribution towards the work of Reunion." It may interest readers of *E.C.Q.* to learn how the general problem of reunion is viewed in the Low Countries. The editors point out that we seem to be entering on a new epoch, one characterized by a striving towards unity in every sphere just as the period which is passing was characterized by a thirst for progress. Division is felt to be the great evil everywhere and attempts are being made on all sides to remedy this.

The sight of a divided humanity has certainly helped to foster the spirit of unity in the religious sphere, but this in itself is not a sufficient explanation of the impulse to reunion which is being manifested. This impulse has a deeper source. It

is the highest expression of a more active love and of a more living faith; a true sign of the providence of God. Therefore it is a duty for Catholics—though they know that their Church is the only true œcumenical one, and that she alone possesses the authority, doctrine and sacraments which can reunite Christendom—to show a deep interest in what may well be the work of God. The sincerest form our interest can take is constant prayer that union may in the end be reached. A very sympathetic and understanding attitude is also needed towards our separated brethren. Such an attitude requires that we should both recognize and respect what they have preserved of Christ's work and teaching. We must strive and pray for the day when a full unity will be restored, based on Peter's rock.

Such is the spirit which animates the new review. Its aim is to furnish a positive contribution which may in some way help to level the path to reunion. It is intended to publish studies and chronicles which will introduce readers to the important problems and events which concern the Catholic work of reunion as well as to indicate the attempts towards union made by the separated Churches and especially the Eastern Churches. By Eastern Churches is meant particularly the Churches of Russia and the Balkan Countries. It is hoped to review their history, tendencies, disintegration and, strivings for unity in the past or at the present day; to discover true elements in them; elements which are not lacking to the Catholic Church, but which for some reason or other may have fallen into the background. There will also be studies of the Eastern liturgies, historical essays dealing with the relation of the Eastern Churches with Rome, the Anglican and other Reformation Churches. A basis of theology, of course, underlies the whole review.

The first number contains an interesting article by J. Cornelis entitled "Soloviev and the Church" (pp. 7-40). The introduction concerns the progress of Soloviev's thought towards Roman Catholicism. The writer does not pretend to give a complete account of the great Russian's teaching on the Church, but to bring out an important theme which runs through his work "Russia and the Universal Church"—namely the Church as universal Kingdom of Love. Two main aspects are considered: the Church itself as Kingdom of Love, and the Roman Primacy as centre of Universal Love. Dr. Olaf Hendriks of Nymegen has contributed an article on the relations between the Eastern Church and the

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œcumenical movement (pp. 41-55). It briefly recalls the past history of these relations and their present state—that is, at the time of the Amsterdam meeting, the first number of the review being dated July 1948. It stresses the fact that there is not overmuch enthusiasm in the Orthodox Church for co-operation with Lutheran and Calvinist Churches. Co-operation with what appears as Pan-Protestantism (and Protestants were certainly in the majority at Amsterdam) is not what the Eastern Church most desires. The writer points out the significance of an article in the Athens review *Ekklesia* (1946) where P. S. Bratsiodis shows how necessary it is first to reach a preliminary agreement or “unification” on dogmatic questions between churches wishing to co-operate. At the same time he expresses—and this is sounding an entirely new note in the Greek Orthodox Church—a great respect for Rome. He says that he regrets that Rome should remain aloof from the Orthodox Church, but hopes that soon contact may be sought. This new attitude may indicate that if the Orthodox Church intends to reach a real and lasting solution of division it will more readily find it in co-operation with Rome than with the œcumenical movement. The review also contains a series of chronicles (pp. 58-83) with historical notes and the latest news of importance about the Eastern Churches. There is also a chronicle of events in the Anglican Church and the work attempted by the Lambeth Conference (pp. 76-83). Some book reviews conclude this number.

DOM PAUL MEYVAERT,  
Quarr Abbey, Isle of Wight.

*The Month.* In the November and December issues for 1948, Father Philippe de Regis contributed an article of great value and interest on contact with Russian Orthodoxy. We select one passage out of many to quote since it has a bearing on the ideals of this review. Speaking about converts to the Catholic Church from Orthodoxy, Father de Regis says: “the Catholic Church realizes that she is the depository of divine truth and she cannot, without being false to herself, and her mission, abandon her apostolate. But whereas she will welcome anyone, who, recognizing her for that she really is, only asks to be received into her fold, there may be good reasons for not pressing for such a step to be taken, where its necessity has not yet been recognized. The individual conversions thus made can irritate and antagonize the churches from which they come, and yet it is these *Churches* as such which we hope

to restore to union. For the few thousands who might thus be converted, there are millions who would be hardened in their separation. It is the hope of a genuine reunion of these churches as such, with their real bishops, priests and sacraments, which suggest that individuals should not be pressed to anticipate the day of a more general reunion, unless indeed grace should lead some, personally, to a quite spontaneous conversion. This is said, of course, subject to the guidance of higher authority. It follows therefore that the utmost prudence, the highest respect for souls, and the most genuine love of Christ are required in this work for unity.

It is important to remember that in thus controlling the excess of a personal and apostolic zeal, we are doing something more than change our tactics towards our separated brethren. It is not merely in order to safeguard a greater good that prudence of this kind is urged and hoped for. We have to look upon the apostolate as a service of souls, not simply a matter of recruitment."

*The Month* of the new series 1949. To this we will look with great interest. At present we will only draw attention to Père Daniélou's excellent review of Dr. Lampert's *The Apocalypse of History*.

*Eastern Review* 1948. This is also a new review published in Vienna quarterly in English, French and German. It purports to be a survey of the cultural life of the East Central and South-Eastern Europe and of the Soviet Union.

We are only going to refer to one article in the July-September issue that on "The Eastern Church Today" by G. Luschnytsky.

The theme of the article can be summarized in the words of the author thus: "silhouetted against the background of the struggle for power between the East and West, of which we are witnesses, we can see another battle going on that is of no less significance in the history of the world: the struggle between the Eastern and Western Churches." By Eastern Church the writer means the Orthodox Churches and by the West he means all Churches in communion with Rome.

The article touches on past history but it is chiefly concerned with the present time (i.e. after 1917). The main problem is "Is the Church to exist as an independent body or is it to function as a tool of the state passing on the directions of the state under the supervision of the state? Is it to speak to its members directly as an ecclesiastical power embodied in the

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Pope or is the Church to be an organ of a worldly power? In short, we can talk about a struggle for power over the human spirit." The discussion is very well planned and in great detail. But we cannot help feeling it is viewing the matter in too simple a manner, though it must be admitted that the stark realities force many people to see it like this. It is however good to have the facts so marshalled. The following phrases bring the thesis to a close. "The Eastern and Western Churches have one feature in common in the present situation: the spiritual crises." This crisis all have to go through and our very share in this is unifying. It is the passage from the world of the past to the world of the future. The final lines say—"it is only when the logos and the sympathy of the Western Church have joined forces with the faith and the suffering of the Eastern Church that Christ will wholly illuminate the world."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### AN ANGLICAN UNIATE CHURCH

DEAR SIR,

In the July-September issue of the *E.C.Q.* of 1948 you refer to a letter of the Rev. H. A. John Windle that had appeared in *The Tablet* of 11th September 1948. You quote most of this letter, the gist of Mr. Windle's remarks can be stated in one line: "I am quite certain that as far as Anglicanism and the Holy See are concerned the only cure for the present distress is a definite offer from Rome of an Anglican Uniate Church." As editor you subjoin the note: "we would like to see this problem more fully ventilated." The November issue of *The Lamp* seems to give an opportunity for this. Father Lewis Furlan, S.A., has been giving, in series form, an account of the life of the founder of the society of the Atonement—Father Paul of Graymoor. In this instalment he is dealing with Father Paul's ideas on Corporate Reunion. He quotes from a copy of *The Lamp* for December 1909. Father Paul who writes just one month after the reception of the Society of the Atonement into the Church enunciates what he calls the "Corporate Principle." He writes thus: "Shutting their eyes to Rome's method of employing the corporate method of conversion in treating the uniate bodies of the East, men have consistently said that Rome

would admit of no other but the individual process of submission to her jurisdiction, as far as Anglican and other non-Papal bodies of the West were concerned. *The Lamp* is now in a position to assert the contrary. A *pusillus grex*, a society of Anglicans numbering but a score of souls, has asked for the privilege of a corporate submission and reception, and received from the Holy See an affirmative answer. Though this little cloud on the horizon be but the size of a man's hand, it is the prophecy of an abundance of rain and an index of what Rome will do when the corporate movement towards the centre of Catholic Unity has gathered momentum and brought not a score but scores of thousands to assemble about the door and knock for admission to the Catholic Church."

Father Furlan makes it clear that Father Paul does not disparage individual conversions and he also adds a note: "So closely does this statement follow upon his many pleas for Corporate Reunion as an episcopalian clergyman that at first glance it may seem that he still advocated this method of reunion for the Church of England. Yet, we know that this is not so for the facts in his own case point out the opposite. He well knew that, though the Society of the Atonement was *corporately* received into the Church, each member was called upon to make his *individual* profession of Faith. It is 'Corporate Reunion' with qualifications." I have quoted this note because it refutes a bugbear that many Catholics seem to have in their minds; when Corporated Reunion is mentioned they seem to think that numbers of people will be swept into the Church against their will and with very little preparation. On the other hand I do not see why because each individual makes an individual profession of Faith the method employed cannot be termed corporate reunion pure and simple, a corporate body has been received in the Church retaining its status, its members are not split up and absorbed into other communities.

Now to relate this to Mr. Windle's letter. He thinks that if Rome were to show a certain amount of solicitude and encouragement in the growing Roman movement in the Anglican Church it would meet with happy results. Certainly the Anglican Church or groups of Anglicans cannot be treated in the same way as the Orthodox or Lesser Eastern Churches are treated. But why should not Catholic authorities have vision enough to think in terms of *some sort* of Corporate Reunion—of what that *sort* will be one can only wait the

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To THE I SIR,

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event, this is the work of the Holy Spirit as is the whole solution of Christian Unity.

Certainly one of the reasons why Catholic authorities do not think along these lines is because they do not take the Roman movement seriously. The main reason for writing this letter is because I am convinced it should be taken seriously. There are many Anglican Communities in England and elsewhere who hold the Roman Faith as did the Society of the Atonement, there are growing associations of clergy and laity who are definitely praying and preparing by study for the day of reunion with Rome, outside England there are even dioceses where a very sound Catholic (though not fully Roman) teaching and practice is the general rule.

It is true that there are now much more friendly relations between Catholic priests and the Anglican clergy but there is very little, if any thought, on our side as to how this movement could be dealt with as a corporate body. We have to remember it is a movement and so moves, but moves slowly, and most of the teaching is being done by the Anglican clergy.

This is far too long a letter, but it may help to ventilate the problem.

Yours truly,

K.F.E.W.

#### THE NEW REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MELKITE PATRIARCH IN PARIS

To THE EDITOR, *E.C.Q.*

SIR,

Your readers may be interested to learn of the appointment of the Archimandrite Oresté Keramé as representative in Paris of the Greek-Catholic (Melkite) Patriarch. This mainly Levantine community has a Church in the French Capital—that of St. Julien-le-Pauvre to which Father Keramé is also I understand appointed rector. On thus returning to Europe the new patriarchal representative comes as no stranger as he spent eleven years with the French Jesuits actually in this country at Ore Place, Sussex and was ordained priest by Archbishop (then Bishop) Amigo. Later going back to his own Mediterranean territory Father Keramé had the distinction of being the first Jesuit to follow the Greek-Catholic rite and it was whilst in Cairo that his command of languages and œcumenical outlook served so well in the invaluable work done there to unite all men of goodwill, both Catholic, Orthodox

and Protestant with the sympathetic interest of certain Muslims and Jews in the study of religion and world order, an account of which appeared in *E.C.Q.* about a year ago. Father Keramé was appointed secretary and promoted to archimandrite by the late Patriarch Cyril IX since when he has also been closely connected with the Patriarchal college in Cairo. He is particularly sympathetic to and understanding of the outlook of the Orthodox communities and will, I am certain, extend a most hearty welcome to such of your readers as may visit Paris and there contact him. It is perhaps fitting to add that it was Father Keramé who preached the English sermon to members of the Allied Forces gathered at Faggala Cathedral, Cairo in 1946 for a solemn "Liturgy" offered by the patriarch for their intentions. And I for one shall always remember Father Keramé's reference to England: "that green and pleasant land," at this ceremony which was my first introduction to our brethren-in-Christ of the Eastern rites. In conclusion I would also very much like to draw attention to the importance not only of Father Keramé's personal qualifications for his present post which are indeed of the very highest, but to the fact that the community of Eastern rite Catholics to which he belongs are of number, dignity and consequence sufficient to maintain a church as far afield as Paris and to send thereto an official representative of distinguished rank in the person of a most charming and cultivated scholar to whom I pay this small tribute of admiration and thus welcome back to Europe.

I am Sir,

Yours etc.,

J.W.R-F.

As from Warminster, Wilts.

We also cordially welcome the Archimandrite Keramé in Paris.—EDITOR.

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## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

We have kept these reviews, on purpose, to books concerning the main problem of this issue. One of the reviewers is himself an Orthodox, the others are Catholics who are in sympathy. It is inevitable that any serious confronting of East and West will show signs of tension and a difficulty in understanding one another's minds.—THE EDITOR.

*The Russian Idea.* By Nicolas Berdyaev. Geoffrey Bless. 18s.

The loss which the world has sustained in the death this year of Nicolas Berdyaev is made particularly poignant if seen against the background of the meeting of East and West in Europe. Berdyaev was a prophet of the revolution which is being wrought by the incursion of the West into Russia and of Russia into the West, and by the fact that these forces find themselves face to face and in inter-dependence not at some geographical point in Germany but in the inmost depth of the European soul. This meeting denotes one of the major transformations of history and is, perhaps, the issue of our time.

The importance of Berdyaev's *The Russian Idea*, written in the darkest moments of the last war and published in English at the end of 1947 (the delay in mentioning it in the *E.C.Q.* is due entirely to the dilatoriness of the present reviewer), lies in that it presents a synoptic view and interpretation of Russia as the perennial drama of East-and-West.

Berdyaev was not of the kind that believes that a philosopher or a historian can wriggle out of his skin and offer a picture of depersonalized, and even dehumanized, thought. Nor did he wish to do so, if it had been possible. For him knowledge was an approximation to truth wrought out of personal experience and personal vision. Accordingly, his interpretation of Russia displays a deliberately selective and even one-sided insight into Russian conditions and ways of thought, past and present. His explanation of her history is bound up with a sense of destiny which makes him "reflect upon what the Creator's thoughts are about Russia, about what Russia is and what kind of destiny she has." The very title of the book implies an avowed personal bias. But this accounts also for the book's remarkable freshness, intensity and persuasiveness—despite its apparent fragmentary character and occasional vagueness in detail.

Berdyaev gives an illuminating account of the earlier Russia, but he concentrates his attention on the religious, social and political thought of the nineteenth century, which

inspired some of the greatest creative periods of modern literature and forms the background of the Russian revolution of 1917. The issue which lay beneath all other and was in a sense an embodiment of them all was the issue of our time—the question of Russia and Europe, of East and West, of Slavophiles and Westerners: it was at the root of a series of problems such as “society and the individual,” “authority and freedom,” “culture and salvation,” “reason and faith,” “state and Church,” etc. But, however intense the controversies which divided opinion in Russia then, and divides opinion in the West today, on this issue, the very controversy revealed the fundamental co-inherence of the West and Russia. And people in the West and Russians alike can defy that co-inherence only at their own peril and at the peril of that Christian civilization which Western man tends today to set over against Russia and, in the process, to identify it with the blessings of Anglo-American atomic might.

It is a strange comment on our modern predicament that the West needs to be reminded of the fact that Russia is a part of Christendom. She shares with the West both the Hebrew culture from which Christian civilization sprang and the influence of the cultural tradition of Byzantium. What she does not share, however, is the influence of Rome. It is, indeed, highly important for the understanding of the issue in question to make this latter qualification, to realize, that is to say, the extent to which, for instance, the moral outlook which Western man calls Christian has been shaped by Roman law and derived from Stoic philosophy, on the one hand, and the extent to which the specifically Byzantine and, most particularly, the Hebrew tradition has penetrated into and pervaded the Russian outlook, on the other. In other words, it is important to realize that the underlying difference between Russia and the West is, perhaps, the difference between Eastern and Western Christianity. That difference, in turn, is in a significant sense the difference between a predominantly Graeco-Roman, Classical civilization and a predominantly Oriental and Judaeo-Christian one: their mutual relation and their impact upon one another has been and continues to be historically decisive.

This is only one matter, though an extraordinarily important one, with which Berdyaev's book deals and which enables me to pull out of the bag an old, but in this case truly relevant, cliché: it does, indeed, provide a challenge and food for thought.

E. LAMPERT.

Dostoevsky.

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*Dostoevsky*. By L. A. Zander. S.C.M. Press. Pp. 137. 10s.

There have been recently a number of studies in English of Dostoevsky, to mention some:—*Dostoevsky* by Nicholas Berdyaev (Sheed and Ward 1934), Karl Pflieger in his *Wrestlers with Christ* (Sheed and Ward 1936), and Nicolas Zernov in his *Three Russian Prophets* (S.C.M. Press 1944), Professor Zander has added his special contribution. His study is concerned with the problem of the good in Dostoevsky's art.

In the introduction to his book Professor Zander gives us a few paragraphs that form the basis of his general thesis, thus he says:—"In Dostoevsky's work the metaphysical 'abode' of the good is not so much the human soul as the superpersonal and all-embracing principle in which a man and the whole world remain in complete harmony and unity with their Creator. Thus the good transcends the limits of the purely human and is directly connected with ontology and mysticism—those primary sources of Dostoevsky thought."

Professor Zander works this out in the four following chapters whose titles are significant—the Good is from God; the Good Earth; the Humble ones; the Bridegroom. He gives us a fascinating study of Dostoevsky's conception of the good. The conclusion one comes to is that he considers his author a sophiologist, and the fact that he was a friend of Vladimir Soloviev strengthens the contention. To quote Professor Zander:—"this is the problem of 'anthroposophy'—the problem of discovering and showing man's sophian basis, the primary goodness which is equally real in him and in all creation."

From this basis, and bearing in mind what we quoted above about the good transcending the limits of the purely human, he mentions Dostoevsky's female characters who bear the name of Wisdom. He says of them—Sofya Semyonovna, etc.—"Their images are drawn with a varying degree of detail and attention; but in studying them in their mutual interconnection, one cannot fail to see that—finally—their features merge into one single image of wife and mother—infinitely significant and infinitely tender. This entitles us to speak of them as forming part of one synthetic symbol of all that is precious and intimately dear to man. To the same category belong Dasha and Marya Timofeyevna, the cripple herself, who symbolically represents the eternal feminine—the soul of the world and, more particularly, the soul of Russia.

It is specially in his final chapter—"the Bridegroom," that Professor Zander works out the whole theory of the redemption of the Sophia; Prince Myshkin and later as a



further development, Alyosha Karamazov are images of the Saviour.

Throughout this study Romano Guardini's own study *Der Mensch und sein Glaube*, is constantly used as also frequent references are made to the writings of Father Sergius Bulgakov.

It is this considering of the Sophian image that makes the book so interesting, yet Berdyaev in his work, in certain places contradicts the thesis—"woman," he says, "is a stumbling-block in the way of male destiny, and it is a waste of time to look for any 'cult of the eternal feminine' in the work of Dostoevsky." Nevertheless in other places he would seem to find the struggle of the fallen Sophia, e.g. in his discussion of the phrase "beauty will save the world." One must remember that Professor Zander is giving an exposition of Dostoevsky only within the limits of the sophiological interpretation of his thesis, this throws a great deal of light on the writings and thought of Dostoevsky; Berdyaev is treating our author on a much broader basis, that of the new and eternal covenant of a living Christianity.

DOM BEDE WINSLOW.

*Russia and the Universal Church.* By Vladimir Soloviev.

Geoffrey Bles. The Centenary Press. Pp. 214. 15s.

Soloviev's *Russia and the Universal Church* holds a place in history comparable to that of Newman's *Development of Christian Doctrine*. It marks the return of Russia through one of its greatest and most representative men to the unity of the Catholic Church. The importance of Soloviev, as of Newman, is that he is typical of his race: in him the destiny of Russia, in so far as Russia has a soul and belongs as a people to Christ, was revealed. In this sense Soloviev was a true prophet of his people, and one may believe that the importance of his achievement is only now beginning to be felt. Russia has gone further in the rejection of Christ than even Soloviev could have imagined, but it is part of the same process of the subjection of the Church to the State, of religion to the secular power whose history he had traced. The first part of this work is an exposure, rather brief and summary but fundamentally true, of this subservience of the Eastern Church to the imperial power, which was consummated by the breach between Constantinople and Rome and finally the erection of Moscow as the "third Rome." In opposition to this Soloviev shows how the true greatness and strength

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of the Eastern Church has always depended on her union with Rome. By this union Soloviev understands, of course, not a subjection of Constantinople to Rome, but a true, organic communion, by which the Eastern Church retains all its unique character, its independent organization, canon law, liturgy and above all its spirituality, while respecting the supreme authority of the Holy See.

The second part of the book accordingly shows the basis of the authority of Rome, as it was recognized by the Eastern Church no less than by the Western Church at the Council of Chalcedon. This forms one of the most impressive defences of the papacy seen from the angle of the Eastern Church that has ever been written. But it is in the third part that Soloviev shows the full scope of his doctrine and develops his theology with supreme power. Doubtless it still contains traces of the errors which affected his earlier works, but these form but slight flaws in an otherwise orthodox system. It is the great value and interest of Soloviev's theology that it is all centred on the mystery of the Church. The doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation are seen as mysteries of the divine Wisdom, which becomes incarnate in the individual human nature of Christ, and through that human nature is then extended to all mankind. Corresponding with this movement of the descent of the Godhead in the person of the Word is the opposite movement of the ascent of nature, the feminine principle or Sophia, which is manifested first in Eve, the "mother of mankind," then supremely in Mary, the mother of the Incarnate Word, and finally in the Church, the mother of redeemed mankind, which forms the mystical body of Christ.

But Soloviev was not content with any vague conception of the mystical body: it is rather the danger of his thought, that it is so elaborately systematized. Thus he saw the impress of the Holy Trinity on the whole work of creation, in the formation of the universe no less than in the structure of human society. In human society he distinguished the three functions of priesthood, kingship and prophecy, an analysis to which Christopher Dawson's recent lectures on Religion and Culture give a remarkable support. In the mystical body of Christ, therefore, as the organism in which all human society is restored to unity, he saw in the priesthood, first of the pope, then of the bishops, then of the priests and finally of the whole people a true human expression of the Fatherhood of God. The instrument by which this spiritual fatherhood finds

expression in the world is the Christian State, which represents the Kingship of Christ, and has for its function to "incarnate the principles of true religion in the social and political order." Finally uniting Church and State and perfecting human society in freedom and love, Soloviev recognizes the prophetic power, the expression of the "free and living activity" of the Holy Spirit. But while the Church remains firmly centred on the rock of Peter, and forms the basis upon which the whole order of society must be constructed, the Christian state, and the Christian society are always in the process of formation. In this process Soloviev believed that the Russian people was destined to play a unique part "providing the Universal Church with the political power which it requires for the salvation and regeneration of Europe and the world." The destiny of Russia has proved different from anything that Soloviev imagined, but when the present apostasy has run its course, it may be that Russia will yet take that place in the formation of a new world, which Soloviev, like so many Russian prophets, believed to be hers.

DOM BEDE GRIFFITHS.

*The Apocalypse of History.* By E. Lampert. Faber and Faber. Pp. 177. 18s.

There can be few Christians who do not from time to time, most often perhaps as children, reflect with some bewilderment upon those passages in the Gospels which deal with the End of the World. The picture of the Great Assize has always fascinated men; but as the centuries pass Christians come to give a vague assent to the doctrine of the Last Judgment but to think of it as something less real and less momentous than death and the particular judgment that follows death and as something only externally related to the particular judgment. Even as we use the words "follows death" we may wonder how far their use, no doubt inevitable, may disguise the nature of a transition from time to a mode of existence involving duration of some kind, but a duration which cannot be temporal as the processes of earthly life are temporal. It is the great merit of Dr. Lampert's book that he raises these problems in an arresting way and shows their importance in the context of a Christian philosophy of history.

It is not possible in a short review to summarize Dr. Lampert's argument, and this for two reasons. In the first place, he has written a very rhetorical book, in which words like *depth, tragedy, mystery*, are continually employed in a variety of

contexts, and indeed one too hard Aristotelian has attempted himself enough should have restrictions which the an introduction mately four of a little Greek view (Kant, Hegel, discussed), The next contradictions the Kantian And so the if anything in eight pages "Godman Human."

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contexts, and it is often hard to discover his meaning; and indeed one is uneasily aware of the possibility that to strain too hard after a meaning may be a sign of unregenerate Aristotelianism—a word of fear for Dr. Lampert. Again, he has attempted to write a book of vast scope and has not allowed himself enough space in which to write it. Either he should have written a bigger book or he should have restricted his field. The first of the three sections into which the book is divided will illustrate the point. After an introductory chapter of two and a half pages (approximately four hundred words to the page), there follows a chapter of a little over fifteen pages in which Dr. Lampert discusses Greek views of time, some idealist conceptions of time (Kant, Hegel, Bradley, Bosanquet, Dilthey, Nietzsche, are all discussed), and futuristic views from Descartes to Marx. The next chapter (ten and a half pages) discusses “the contradictions of time,” covering St. Augustine’s analysis of time, the Kantian antinomy, and the relation of God to time. And so the book continues, the pace growing a little hotter if anything—“the historicity of Jesus Christ” is discussed in eight pages and this is sandwiched between a discussion of “Godmanhood” and one of “Providence Divine and Human.” In effect, Dr. Lampert has written the synopsis of a book which a great theological genius might attempt after prayer and fasting. The result is that his conclusions are too often oracular and lack the support of careful analysis and demonstrative argument.

Much of the value of *The Apocalypse of History* lies in the incidental remarks the author drops like so many stones into the pool of the mind. “It is each man’s destiny to walk once at least with Christ to Emmaus.” “Christ entered the life of Nature as well as the life of men: He was crucified above her dark abysses, and the light that shines from the crucified and risen Lord is a light shining in the elemental Night of Nature.” “Israel is the Cross on which the Saviour of the world is nailed.” These and many other remarks have great vivacity and a kind of poetic power.

Perhaps Dr. Lampert wishes to shake the human spirit to its depths (to use one of his own expressions) rather than to bring about intellectual conviction in the reader. Early in the book he bids farewell to objectivity. “We must and shall do what philosophers and scientists persistently refuse to do: we must ‘laugh, weep, and hate,’ rather than be ‘objective,’ else our search will avail nothing.” Later he

writes that there can be no "perennial" philosophy. Dr. Lampert's difficulty is that he cannot admit that the intellect has been baptized. In this his affinities strike one as being fundamentally with the Lutherans and Calvinists, in their modern Barthian form, rather than with the Eastern Orthodox. He is not content to indicate the one-sidedness of much Western intellectualism and still more of Western formulations. If he were right, it would scarcely be too strong to say that Western theologians have constructed with immense care and energy a theological blind-alley. He is consistently unfair to Western thought and Western traditions, and he is not above a sudden reversal of roles in which he appears as the champion of objectivity against the prejudices of the Papacy. He attacks the Encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* on the ground that it is painfully one-sided in its estimate of Marx's views. If one were malicious, one might well reply with the kind of rhetorical abuse directed by Dr. Lampert at the attempts of others to see things objectively. Of course, the answer is much simpler. The Encyclical is concerned, not with the critical evaluation of Marxian texts, but with the Marxism propagated by the Soviet Government and its admirers outside the Soviet frontiers. This type of Marxism is to be found in Chapter iv of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*, and in the manuals employed in the educational systems of the "new democracies" of Eastern Europe—countries where today the essential justice of Pius XI's diagnosis is being manifested. No doubt this vulgar Marxism is unfair to the more complex and less rigid thought of Marx himself; but the Pope was concerned with the *Weltanschauung* of a party and not with the critical history of ideas.

It is painful to have to write in these terms of so talented a theologian as Dr. Lampert. As *The Divine Realm*, much more than *The Apocalypse of History*, showed, he has a great deal to teach us. If he is prepared to learn from the classic theologians of the West, he may yet write a great book.

J. M. CAMERON.

*The Church is One.* By Alexei Stepanovich Khomiakov. Introduction by Nicolas Zernov, D.Phil. S.P.C.K. Pp. 31. 1s. 3d.

We are indeed grateful to Dr. Zernov for giving us this theological treatise of Khomiakov. As Dr. Zernov points out in his introduction the position of Alexei Khomiakov as an

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authoritative representative of Orthodox theology is still an open question. Nevertheless, it will be admitted, even by those who disagree with him, that he is the pioneer in the revival of original Russian theology and that he is behind much of modern Russian thought concerning the Church.

It is indeed good to have the complete work of one who is often referred to and parts of whose writings are often quoted. The result of reading Khomiakov for the first time brings some pleasant surprises; his clear description of the Sacraments, his statement that though the Orthodox Church objects to a certain material meaning of transubstantiation she does not reject the word. This leads one to think that on a closer study of the whole text Khomiakov's theology he will be found not so much at variance with Catholic thought as one had been led to believe. There have been misunderstandings on both sides.

It is encouraging to see, from Dr. Zernov's bibliography, that so many studies of the "Orthodox Doctor" are by members of the Catholic Church.

B.W.

*The Russian Religious Mind. Kievan Christianity.* By George Fedotov. Harvard University Press. Pp. xvi + 438. \$6.00.

Professor Fedotov compares the nature of his book, which is something new in Russian learning, to Henri Bremond's *Histoire Littéraire du Sentiment religieux en France*. The exiled Russian historian had at his disposal less materials than the French writer, and less than he would have had, if he had worked in the libraries of his country. However, such as they are the enumeration of them fills ten pages. For our author includes in his subject many things which his French colleague omitted from the field of his investigations. The book has then the appearance of a synthesis, which Bremond's book has not, and which is especially apparent in the conclusion covering fifty pages. But the synthesis has not been hastily made, as the author has prepared himself for it by a series of preliminary studies, of which *A Treasury of Russian Spirituality* will shortly appear from Messrs. Sheed and Ward. It may be summarized thus: Byzantine Christianity from the ninth to the thirteenth century, in uniting itself to the qualities and defects of the Russian character, produced in the Russia of the time (the Kievan Epoch) a Religious Mind with the following characteristics:—The translation of the Bible and the Liturgy into the Slav

language separated Russian Christianity from the Greco-Roman world, and impoverished its rational thought; an emphasis on the aspects of humility and *kenosis* in Christ (cf. Mme N. Gorodetzky's: *The Humiliated Christ in Modern Russian Thought*); a religious outlook on nature and history in which the providential destiny of nations occupies the principal place; a preference for lay sanctity; moralism; ritualism; a kind of practical Pelagianism, etc. These characteristics of the Religious Mind can be called constants; they have lasted throughout the other periods of Russian history, though they have received developments, some of which were desirable, others less so—for example (according to Professor Fedotov) religious nationalism, which replaced the more universal outlook of Kiev.

I have already said that the synthesis is not a hasty one. This is true; nevertheless certain aspects might have been developed more profoundly or omitted—such as the relations between Church and State. Moreover if Professor Fedotov is a specialist in Russian history, he seems less competent in Byzantinology, in which his generalizations are often too summary. The author has written *con amore*, but with a lively sense, rare in an Orthodox, of the limited character of the Oriental Christian tradition whether Slav or Byzantine. Lastly it is the humanist (which all those who know Professor Fedotov love in him) who reveals himself in the last sentence of the book: "Kievan spirituality has the same value for the Russian Religious Mind as Pushkin has for the Russian artistic sense, that of standard, a golden measure, a royal way."

The book is the best introduction to the subject I know in any non-Russian language. There is a detailed index at the end.

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- Cairo : *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church.* By Sawirus Ibn Al-Mukaffà. Vol. II, Part II.  
 Cambridge University Press: *The Bogomils.* By D. Obolensky.  
 S.P.C.K. : *The Old Catholic Movement.* By C. B. Moss.  
*Tertullian's Treatise against Praxeas.* By E. Evans.  
 The Dacre Press : *Certainty Philosophical and Theological.*  
 By Dom Illyd Trethowan.  
 Sheed and Ward : *Dante the Philosopher.* By E. Gilson.  
*France Pagan ?* By Maisie Ward.  
*They made me signs.* By John Heenan.  
*The Salvation of the Nations.* By Jean Danielou.  
 Morehouse-Gorham, N.Y. : *Lambeth and Unity.* By L. A. Haselmayer.  
 Browne and Nolan, Dublin : *Madame Swetchine.* By M. V. Woodgate.  
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*Der Christliche Kempf.* Translated and Edited from St. Augustine by Carl Johann Perl.  
 S.C.M. Press : *The Wholeness of the Church.* By O. Tomkins.  
 Geoffrey Bless : *Towards a New Epock.* Nicolas Berdyaev.

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*Vers L'Unité Chrétienne.* 1948. Paris.